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EGYPT UNDER THE PHARAOHS

VOL. I.

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A

HISTORY OF EGYPT

UNDER THE PHARAOHS

DERIVED ENTIRELY FROM THE MONUMENTS

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A DISCOURSE ON THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES

BY DR HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN
M.R.S.S. GÖTTINGEN
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE R. ACAD. OF SCIENCES BERLIN, ETC.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED FROM THE GERMAN

(*After the unfinished Translation by the late Henry Danby Seymour, F.R.G.S.*)

BY PHILIP SMITH, B.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE STUDENT'S ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST'

SECOND EDITION

WITH A NEW PREFACE, ADDITIONS, AND ORIGINAL NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

IN TWO VOLUMES — VOL. I.

Maps and Illustrations

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1881

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DEDICATED

TO

HIS HIGHNESS ISMAËL PASHA

KHEDIVE OF EGYPT

WITH MOST RESPECTFUL GRATITUDE

BY THE AUTHOR

HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY

This Dedication to the late ruler of Egypt is preserved, as having been a part of the original work [ED.]

For the same reason the allusions to Ismaël Pasha in the text are left unaltered.

PORTRAIT HEAD OF A WOODEN STATUE OF AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN, CALLED THE SHEIKH EL BELLED, PROBABLY OF THE TIME OF THE IVTH DYNASTY (ABOUT 3700 B.C.); FOUND AT SAQQARAH, AND NOW IN THE MUSEUM AT BOULAQ. (*See p.* 78.)

Height about 3 feet 8 inches. Engraved from a Photograph.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND ENGLISH EDITION.

THE necessity for a new English Edition of the 'History of Egypt under the Pharaohs' has pleased the German Author as much as it has filled him with gratitude towards the reading public in England.

Far from believing that he could claim for his book the merit of having solved, even approximately, the endless difficulties of a continuous exhibition of the history of the ancient land of the Pharaohs, he regrets to be obliged to confess that his work is only an attempt to piece together the loose and crumbling stones of a building, which the ever-wasting tooth of time and the destroying hand of man have swept off the face of the earth almost to its foundations; while a kind fortune has preserved but few remains of it to the present day. Such an attempt must therefore appear alike bold and of doubtful success; and a great responsibility has been laid upon the Author, whose zeal and efforts have been impeded on all sides in the search for the articulate witnesses of historical antiquity.

The unexpected and genuine sympathy of the highly cultured English readers, ever enthusiastic for the knowledge of antiquity, is not founded—the Author feels convinced—on any predilection for the historical representation which serves as the foundation of the work, but evidently on that indescribable desire, innate in men of noble minds, not only to glance at, but to penetrate deeply into, the primeval seats where human civilization was first worked out, to follow the traces of its development step by step, and to draw comparisons with what we are accustomed to call the acquisitions of our age. When the Author began to write his book, there hovered before his mind, as the special object of his future work, the idea of describing the spirit of antiquity, as it finds direct expression in the words of the monuments, and of showing, by faithful translations of the texts, how the Egyptian contemporaries of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, thought, judged, and wrote. Such a conception appeared to him to rise far above dry chronological lists and bare historical facts. In contrast with these, he saw evidence of more than mere historical significance for the life of the nations of antiquity, in the fact that, without regard to descent, dwelling-place, or form of polity, a common bond of similar thought and effort united those primitive peoples whom we are accustomed to denote by the name of the Oriental nations.

To inform my readers of the spirit which animates the dead stones in hundreds of examples; to cause

them to hear the very words of long since departed labourers for the civilization and advancement of the human race; and to make them sharers in the genuine and sublime joy which filled the Author himself when reading and translating the old inscriptions;—this real aim of the work is doubtless that which English readers have acknowledged by their approval.

The judgments which have been passed on the First Edition of this work in journals and books, both as a whole and with regard to separate parts, may be accepted by the Author as a proof that, in reference to difficult and obscure questions, it has called forth suggestions which cannot but contribute to set on foot further investigations, and to diffuse a new light over the darkness. Above every other point, the question of the Exodus has been brought into the foreground. Of however little concern it may be for Christians to know the exact topographical determination of the route by which Jehovah led His chosen people the Jews, to bring them out of Egypt, the land of bondage, to the Promised Land, yet the historian has the right, nay more, the duty, from his point of view, to subject these facts as such, in their whole extent, to an historical examination, and to show that the record of these facts by human witnesses harmonizes, in its details, with the political, chronological, and geographical conditions. In the case in question he must found his conclusions, in the first place, on the contemporary records and evidence of the Egyptian monuments, assigning only a secondary

place to the later tradition, even though it has been raised to a generally received opinion. While I have not opposed the latter from a predilection for paradoxical assertions but it is only on the ground of the information derived from the monuments that I have transposed the passage of the Jews to the north-eastern territory of the Delta, objections have been made, both by distinguished scholars and by men unlearned in the subject, against what is designated as my theory of the Exodus, which I have answered from my own point of view in a supplement to this work.

I have not failed to give this question my repeated and most special attention, for I know how much the friends of the Bible in England are interested in it. My own zeal for the solution of contested points may be proved by the circumstance, that I felt myself bound to publish my Geographical Lexicon of Egypt (1,720 pages in large quarto) solely with the view of placing every reader in a position to examine the rich abundance of ancient Egyptian names of towns, which I have collected in alphabetical order according to the accounts of the monuments, and from these to form his own judgment as to the value or worthlessness of my combinations.

In the Corrections and Additions to this new (English) Edition of the History of Egypt, I have taken care that it should not fall short of the standard of fresh studies and fresh explorations and discoveries. I have likewise profited by the results of the investigations of my fellow-workers, in so far as they are con-

nected with the History of Egypt, and as they appear to me perfectly satisfactory. I have endeavoured, in the Additions, to place these within the reach of the enquiring reader.

The English Edition of my History, completed and edited by Mr. Philip Smith, from the translation first undertaken by the late Mr. Henry Danby Seymour, is above all praise. Mr. Smith has devoted himself to his task with the greatest conscientiousness as well as zeal; and above all, his Notes and the very complete Index prove that he has taken a heartfelt interest in the subject. In this respect I may venture to assert that the English Edition has surpassed the German.

The Author is likewise indebted in the highest degree to Mr. John Murray for the excellent and tasteful manner in which the work has been put forth. The world-renowned name of the head of the publishing house in Albemarle Street, London, makes him hope that the new Edition of his work may find an ever-increasing circle of readers. The contents of the book, in so far as it exhibits the ancient Egyptian sources of information, seem to the Author to deserve such a distinction.

HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY.

BERLIN: *September* 1880.

died Sept. 1894

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

The demand for a Second Edition of this work has given the Publisher and Editor a much-desired opportunity of removing imperfections, the cause of which was referred to in the Preface to the First Edition in a spirit which the candid reader was trusted to appreciate, and to which critics for the most part made a generous response. The whole work has been thoroughly revised; and the First Volume is practically a new translation. At the same time, some considerable additions have been made in the hope of increasing the usefulness of the work to students of Egyptian history.

The work, designed as the first part of a complete 'History of Egypt, Pharaonic and Greek, Medieval and Modern,' was first published by Brugsch-Bey in the French language, of which he is a master, in 1857. In 1875 appeared the first section of a Second French Edition, brought down to the end of the Seventeenth

Dynasty; but the sequel of that edition has not yet been published. Meanwhile the rapidly increasing abundance of materials discovered and deciphered from the monuments, and the demand for a more complete exhibition of their results by a master, whose knowledge of the subject in its whole compass is rivalled by MARIETTE-PASHA alone, induced Brugsch-Bey to undertake an entirely new work in German, the design and scope of which are explained in his own Preface. The present work is translated from that 'Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen, nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet von Dr. HEINRICH BRUGSCH-BEY. Erste deutsche Ausgabe. Leipzig, 1877.'

Besides a new and thorough collation with the German, this Second English Edition has been carefully compared with the Second French Edition, from which the Editor has transferred some passages which seemed to him of special value, though omitted from the Author's German work. The hieroglyphs of the kings, their pyramids, and other important names, have been added to this Edition from the French (as far as published) and from other sources; and some illustrations have been inserted where they appeared necessary for the better understanding of the text. With the same object the Editor has introduced such notes, and such only, as he deemed essential. He has ventured to add a more extended Note at the end of the History, giving a summary narrative of the later history, from the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the settlement of Egypt

under the first Ptolemy. For this period the monumental records are as scanty as the classical authorities are abundant; and it was thought that readers not perfectly familiar with the latter might welcome a brief filling up of the outline, which is left somewhat fragmentary by Dr. Brugsch's faithful adherence to his plan of writing the history *from the monuments alone.*

In rendering into English Dr. Brugsch's German translations of the Egyptian texts, there has been a twofold difficulty, chiefly from the obscurity of the originals, and partly also from the archaic German often used by Dr. Brugsch to imitate their style. But it is a special characteristic of Dr. Brugsch's translations, that he generally gives a more complete and grammatically consecutive sense than will be found in most other renderings of the Egyptian texts; his are more, in his own phrase, '*in fliessender Rede.*' Not that he has taken liberties with the originals, to wrest them into sense or to force a meaning out of them; but he uses that intimate acquaintance with the Egyptian language which becomes almost an instinct when, to use his own words, 'the translator is sure of his subject in its fullest compass.'[1] In this respect the Editor has endeavoured to follow the Author's style of work, making the English represent neither less nor more than the German trans-

[1] Vol. II. pp. 355–6. The specimen of translation to which these words refer will not only enlighten the reader as to the present state of Egyptian interpretation, but will show him how much it needs a wider and deeper knowledge of the whole subject, beyond the mere rendering of the words.

lations of the Egyptian originals. Nor, in using the further light furnished by other versions of the texts, have their renderings been substituted for those of Dr. Brugsch, except in one or two very rare cases, where explicit warning is given of the liberty taken with our Author's version. The Editor has had neither time nor opportunity to refer to all the English translations of the texts, which it might be interesting to compare with those of Dr. Brugsch; but he has in every case given references to those contained in the excellent and convenient collection entitled 'Records of the Past,' edited by Dr. Samuel Birch, to whom also he makes thankful acknowledgment for valuable advice and information. He has also been glad of the opportunity of referring to some admirable illustrations of Dr. Brugsch's text in Mr. Villiers Stuart's 'Nile Gleanings;' and he desires to call attention to Mr. Stuart's important discoveries and ingenious discussion as to the supposed identity between Amenhotep IV. and the heretical king Khunaten.

The frequent variations in the orthography of Egyptian proper names in the German original have been faithfully preserved in the translation, on the supposition that, far from being accidental, they represented diversities of writing in the original texts. The Editor is now able to give Professor Brugsch's own explanation of these diversities:—

'First, it is to be observed that the hieroglyphic writing of the same words in the Egyptian language is not at all constant with regard to the use of the

vowels, and likewise in numerous examples as to the use of the consonants. And while this is the case with the Egyptian language, it is much more completely so with the words borrowed from foreign tongues, especially with the proper names. The responsibility for the different writing of this or that word does not rest with me, but with the Egyptian scribes, whose texts and words I have transcribed faithfully. The scribe wrote *Pibalus* or *Pibailus* without caring about the difference.

'Secondly, the vowels are very often wanting in Egyptian words and proper names. Where you find in such names *a*, *u*, *i*, in my transcriptions, the Egyptian scribes wrote simply *e* and *o*; and I have supplied the more definite vowel sounds, the *e* referring to the sounds *a* and *i*, otherwise expressed, and the *o* likewise to *u*, otherwise expressed.'

Dr. Brugsch's 'Discourse on the Exodus of the Israelites and the Egyptian Monuments' is now appended to his 'History,' not merely on account of the striking and original views propounded in it, and the powerful arguments by which they are sustained, but because it gathers into a focus certain statements made in various parts of the 'History' in such a manner as to form almost a necessary complement to the work.

One acknowledgment remains to be made with special gratitude and satisfaction. The whole body of the work had been carried through the press, when the Editor received from Professor Brugsch-Bey the most acceptable contribution of a new

Preface for this Edition, together with the additions, corrections, and improvements, which the Author has collected for a future edition of his German work. These invaluable accessions to the greater completeness of the History are given at the end of the Second Volume. Those confirmatory of the Author's views regarding the Exodus will be read with special interest; but a dangerous illness has compelled Professor Brugsch-Bey to postpone a fuller discussion of the whole subject to a future opportunity.

Meanwhile it must be observed that the *essential* part of Professor Brugsch-Bey's view does *not* consist in localizing the great catastrophe at the tongue of land between Lake Sirbonis and the Mediterranean; but in the critical identification, by independent geographical evidence from the monuments and other sources, of the starting-point and stages named in Holy Scripture, which determine the *general direction* of the route, and thus lead us irresistibly, not to the Red Sea, but to *some place* on the Mediterranean coast in the region of lakes and marshes (the true *Yâm Sûf*) about the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. The evidence on which the Author fixes the sites referred to can only be fully appreciated by the study of his great *Geographical Lexicon*.

P. S.

November, 1880.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST GERMAN EDITION.

It is now twenty years since I ventured on the attempt, to lay before the friends and admirers of Egyptian antiquity, in the French language, the History of Egypt under the Pharaohs according to the evidence of the monuments, so far as they have been preserved, from the remotest ages down to our own day. The time seemed to me even then to have come, to turn to account, for the profit of historical enquiry, the written information of the monuments now interpreted, in opposition to the fabulous and less trustworthy accounts of classical antiquity, and to lay open to professed historians the chief sources, at least, to which science is and will ever remain indebted for a knowledge of the oldest races of men upon the earth. The quick sale with which the whole edition of my modest work was favoured soon after its appearance, in spite of its faults, could not but prove to me that I had met a sensible want in this province of enquiry, by having laboured, to the best of my knowledge and

ability, to satisfy the desire generally expressed for an insight into the rich abundance and ample contents of the extant monuments and their inscriptions.

During the time which has since elapsed, the extent of our knowledge of the monuments has been enlarged beyond anticipation by new excavations and discoveries, and by the advances made in deciphering the inscriptions through the labours of gifted students of the science. The most important remains of Egyptian antiquity have meanwhile been won from the bosom of the earth, and the most searching investigations have almost completely overcome the last remaining difficulties, which lay as hindrances in the way of understanding the Holy Scriptures.

Under such altered circumstances, I could easily understand the wish expressed to me from many friendly quarters, that I should once more undertake the task of bringing together in one great picture the historical records of the Pharaonic times, by the help of the latest acquisitions in the scientific knowledge of the monuments; and thus present to those admirers of Egyptian antiquity, who are less conversant with these studies, the opportunity of forming their own judgment on the value and the significance of the original records on stone of the oldest human history. My well-founded hesitation—on the ground that a work so comprehensive, based almost entirely on the deciphering and interpretation of the superabundant number of texts, would need long years for its completion—was at last overcome by the urgent request of my publisher, who reminded me of old engagements,

and pleaded the constant enquiries for copies of the work, which had been long since exhausted.

Such has been the origin—in the midst of the official labours imposed upon me almost without intermission by my duties in the service of that enlightened Oriental prince, the Khedive Ismail Pasha—of this first German Edition of the History of Egypt under the Pharaohs. During the period of five years, spent in three quarters of the world—Europe, Africa, and America,—I have arranged the work on a new plan and carried it to completion, gaining perforce every moment of that leisure which the scholar enjoys in his quiet study, yet always inspired with enthusiasm for the time long since passed away, which seemed to me the more attractive the further it is removed from our present life.

In my treatment of the subject, I have given the fullest and most exclusive attention to the testimony of the monuments; and herein, according to my own view, lies the whole centre of gravity of my work. Claiming neither the vocation nor the ability of a professed historian, I am fain to content myself with the modest and subordinate merit of being a conscientious interpeter of the words of a past age, after having exhausted all means for the right determination of the evidence drawn from the primitive records, which frequent journeys to Upper Egypt have given me the desired opportunity of thoroughly examining on the very spot where each is extant. If, as I fear, my exhibition and estimation of the peculiarly rich materials at my command are affected by the imper-

fections incident to the task of writing the history of Egypt under the Pharaohs from the beginning to the end, the reader may still find some compensation in acquiring the knowledge of a wealth of primeval records, whose tone and phraseology I have taken pains to render with the greatest possible fidelity. The language of the monuments is simple and unadorned; but there breathes through it the fresh and vigorous air of a high antiquity.

My esteemed colleagues in these studies will not fail to observe that certain views, which I have put forth in the most important portions of my work, are in the most decided opposition to the opinions of eminent authorities in the province of ancient Egyptian research, accepted till now as incontrovertible facts. For example, I regard the idea, which has hitherto found so much favour, of a Pelasgo-Italian confederacy of nations in the times of Mineptah II. and Ramses III., as a dangerous error which has been unfortunately introduced into our science without further investigation, and has already struck its parasitical roots into the manuals of the history of Greece and Italy. In like manner, I have regarded Ilium, and the Dardanians, Mysians, and Lycians, as powers unknown to the Egyptians of the fourteenth century; and I have, on the contrary, placed the peoples of corresponding names in the highlands about the upper course of the Euphrates. In this province of research, if anywhere, the most careful circumspection is required. The proofs of my rectifications of these and similar assumptions and hypotheses I intend

speedily to lay before my colleagues, in all their force and completeness, in a separate scientific treatise, which is already prepared for the press.

I commend to my fellow-students, as deserving of a thorough examination, the remarkable fact, which has never till now been recognized or established, that the Egyptian monuments, of the date of 1000 B.C. and onwards, reveal to us, for the first time, a knowledge of the names of Assyrian kings in the Egyptian form of writing, and attest the presence of Assyrian satraps in the Nile valley. PAXRSHNS (Parrash-nes, Pallash-nes, Pallash-nisu), Shashanq, Nimrod, Tiglath, Sargon, &c., are real Assyrian persons, who appear thenceforward in the closest connection with the history of Egypt.

The numerous translations, which, as I have said, form the special foundation of this work, have been written with the monuments before me, and repeatedly compared with the original texts. In the cases in which I have had to cite former translations and transcriptions, I have not omitted to mention the fact, either in the text itself or in a note. A very few such —as, for example, the translation of the long inscription of Piankhi by the late master of our science, E. de Rougé—have been accessible to me only since the completion of my book; but I have found no occasion to regret my own variations from them in the interpretation and translation of the documents. So much the more do I regret, on the other hand, that the splendid edition of the celebrated Harris Papyrus No. 1—by the publication of which Dr. Birch has again earned for himself and the Trustees of the

British Museum the greatest credit for the enrichment of ancient Egyptian learning—only came into my hands, as a present alike costly and valuable for its contents, after this book was printed. For all future time this document, the most important parts of which were only known to me in extracts, will form the most valuable contribution to the history of the third Ramses.

In conclusion, I esteem it a special obligation of gratitude not to pass over in silence the names of the worthy scholars who, whether by the publication of the monuments, or by the explanation and deciphering of the historical inscriptions, have conferred a lasting service on science, and have thereby contributed in no small measure to lighten the labour of my work. I would especially mention the names of Birch, Chabas, E. and J. de Rougé, Devéria, Dümichen, Ebers, Goodwin, Leemans, Le Page Renouf, Lepsius, Lieblein, Mariette, Maspero, Naville, Pierret, Pleyte. If, in discussing the historical researches or the translations of texts, for which the learned world is indebted to these scholars, I have expressed a different opinion about some details, I have assuredly not been influenced by the spirit of contradiction, but by the conviction that I may possibly have come nearer to the truth. I may here recal the Arabic proverb: 'Honour to the beginner, even though the follower does better.'

To the chronological part of this work I have, of the most deliberate purpose, given a very subordinate attention. In my opinion, everything still remains to be done in this province, so far as relates to the time preceding the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. On the assump-

tion of the extracts from Manetho's lists of the ancient Egyptian kings as the foundation for determining the numbers, Lepsius has done all that is possible in his Chronology, and has completely exhausted the materials at his command, with astonishing acuteness and great knowledge of the original authorities. But the monuments are now beginning more and more to discredit the numbers of Manetho: compare, for example, his statement of $12 + 26 = 38$ years, for the reign of Thutmes III., with the 53 years 11 months and 1 day assigned to that king by the monuments. (Vol. I. p. 316.) Unless we choose, without any warrant, to strain the elastic lists of Manetho at our pleasure, there remains no other course than to wait till some fortunate discovery relieves us from this dangerous experiment. It appeared to me, therefore, more advisable to refrain from any attempt at exact chronological determinations, and, for the present, to prefer those general methods, about the principle of which I have spoken at the proper place.

I now commit my work to the public, not indeed with the assurance that I have reached the mark for which I strove, but yet in the calm hope of obtaining indulgent and unprejudiced readers, not so much for myself as for the sake of the words repeated from the very lips of the ancient Egyptians, who already, at the distance of forty centuries before our time, esteemed *remembrance* to be the *real life of men.*

H. BRUGSCH.

GÖTTINGEN, *Dec.* 9, 1876.

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[1] Respecting the *dates*, see note on p. 316.

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[2] Since the publication of Dr. Brugsch's History, the ruins of Carchemish have been discovered in the mounds of Jerablous, the Hierapolis of Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 8, on the west bank of the Euphrates, 20 miles below the town of Beredjik. This identification, first proposed by Mr. J. H. Skene, then British Consul at Aleppo (1874–5), and accepted by the lamented George Smith, has been fully established by the excavations still in progress under the conduct of Mr. Patrick Henderson, British Consul at Aleppo, which have already been rewarded by the discovery of the walls, gates, quays, and other monuments of the citadel or palace quarter. (See the *Times*, Aug. 19, 1880.)

At the same time the various monuments and inscriptions of the Kheta or Hittites, scattered over Western Asia from the Euphrates to the neighbourhood of Sardis (once the seat of a Hittite satrap), are yielding rich results for history and philology, especially under the able treatment of Professor Sayce. (See his papers on the 'Hittite Empire,' in the *Times*, Jan. 23, 1880; on the 'Hittite Monuments,' read before the Society of Biblical Archæology, July 1880 (*Transactions*, vol. vii. pt. 2); and his article 'A Forgotten Empire in Asia Minor,' in *Fraser's Magazine*, August 1880.)

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Errata.

Page 25, last line. *For* 'sling' *read* 'boomerang.'
Page 54, 11 lines from end. *For* 'hinder-land' *read* 'reservoir.' (*Note:* The word, in the German *Hinterland*, denotes a low-lying district, which received the waters of the inundation poured into it by the canals.)
Page 94, *midd.* Insert 'II.' *before* 'RATATF.'
Page 96, line 3 from end. *On* 'Serdab' *add the note:* 'Serdab is the Arabic word denoting the hidden place in the sepulchral chapels, where the statues of the deceased are found.'
Page 202, lines 13–12 from end. *For* 'value of' *read* 'variations in.'
Page 227, *sub fin.* *For* 'Sakhan, or Kasan' *read* 'Sakhau, or Kasau.'
Page 238, line 13. *After* 'Mediterranean' *insert:* 'See Vol. II. pp. 153–155.'
Page 241, line 4 from end. *For* 'large fig' *read* 'sycomore.'
Page 255, *n.*, line 9 from bottom. *For* 'Khout' *read* 'Khont.'
Pages 289, last line, and 326, note [2]. In such names as 'Aah-hotep,' 'Amen-hotep,' &c., the literal meaning of 'hotep' is 'united to.'
Page 327, line 3. *For* 'Marmarides' *read* 'Marmaridæ.' Also at page 328, line 6; page 460, line 3; page 507, line 21.
Page 345. In the Pedigree, Thuaa is wrongly made a daughter of Amenhotep II. *Correct thus:*

6. AMENHOTEP II.
|
Juaa = Thuaa * 7. Thutmes IV. = Mutemua *
| |
Thi * . . . . = ... 8. AMENHOTEP III.

Page 419, line 1. *Read:* 'May they requite it to him.'
Page 436, line 9 from end. *For* 'features of their character' *read* 'points which mark their general direction.'
Page 447. In place of foot-note [8] *read:* 'The above translation is literal. The meaning is, that the ground-plan had been *found* (as a gift from heaven, δώπετής, as a Greek would say) in the times of the earliest kings; the temple was built according to it in the reign of Pepi, and it was deposited in the wall, where it was rediscovered under Thutmes III.'
Page 461. Before the title of Thutmes IV.; *for* 'VI.' *read* 'VII.'
Page 506, line 1. *For* 'débris' *read* 'pebbles.'
Page 515, line 1. *For* 'XIII.' *read* 'X. (XIII.).'

THE

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

INTRODUCTION.

The History of Egypt, the names and deeds of its kings and princes, the varied fortunes of the Egyptian race during a course of more than sixty centuries; such is the comprehensive subject of this work. It is our purpose to collect into one view what the monuments and books tell us of the history of this most remarkable land and people on the favoured banks of the Nile, beginning with the first native king, Mena, and, if God permit, finishing with the present reigning prince of Egypt, the Khedive Ismael Pasha I.[1]

In the first portion of our work, we shall endeavour to portray the historical development of the Egyptians under the rule of the Pharaohs. King Mena will form the starting-point of our narrative, and Alexander the Great, the liberator and saviour of Egypt from the Persian yoke, the closing epoch of this period.

[1] This, and other allusions to the late Khedive, belong of course to the time when the present work was first published, in 1877.

This first part of the work was published, in French, twenty years ago, when we endeavoured to bring together the results of the examination of the monuments, by ourselves as well as others, into one great picture, covering the wide field of old Egyptian history. This task, in truth, was not an easy one; and it certainly exceeded our power, at a first attempt, especially in a foreign language, not merely to place before enquiring students long lists of kings' names with lifeless numbers attached to them, but, led by the guiding hand of the monuments, to reproduce, if only in a general sketch, yet with the greatest possible truth and probability, the life and activity of the old inhabitants of the Nile Valley in the earliest kingdom of the world. To render the task still more difficult, there was added the embarrassing condition, that the number of monuments, as then known and examined by scholars, yielded only a narrow range of information. For the earliest history of the Egyptians does not enjoy the advantage of having been handed down to posterity by the so-called classic writers of antiquity in its true outlines and in a connected series of events. On the contrary, the stories of the classic times, variously confused and transformed into a caricature, have proved rather injurious than serviceable, because they have disseminated false views, and have spread a cloud of fables and tales over Egypt and her history during a period of more than twenty centuries. Only of late have the monuments, once again brought to light and awakened to new life, torn aside the deceitful veil, reveal-

ing the truth, and furnishing the evidence, that in the times of classic antiquity the history of the ancient Egyptians was already an uncomprehended book, like that with the seven seals. Unhappily the revelation has come almost too late to preserve the vast world of stone which had been meanwhile destroyed, with its countless historical inscriptions.

But yet, in spite of all that has perished, never to be recovered, the last twenty years have brought to light an extraordinary and almost unexpected wealth of new discoveries and revelations. A single walk through the rooms of the Egyptian Museum at Boulaq, the port of Cairo, brings us at each step to monuments of the most remote ages, not only of Egyptian history, but of the whole history of mankind. Thanks to the earnest participation of the most enlightened prince of the Eastern world in these investigations, we here see an unbroken series of new witnesses of the old time, raised from the bosom of the earth into the light of day, to give us information about the long vanished past, whose starting point can no longer be reached even by the remotest stages in the ordinary historical measurement of time.

The 'Tables of Kings' of Saqqarah and Abydus, both containing a selection of Egyptian monarchs from the first Pharaoh Mena onwards, give us the most authentic evidence, now no longer to be doubted, that the primeval ancestors of the Egyptian dynasties, the Pharaohs of Memphis, must be recognized as real historical personages, and that King Ramses II. (about 1350 B.C.), the Sesostris of the Greek fabulous history

of Egypt, was preceded by at least seventy-six legitimate sovereigns: that is to say, in other words, there were so many generations of men, who lived during a space of time which is greater than the sum total of the years that have elapsed from Ramses II. down to the present day. Such a comparison of the period of time between two memorable epochs of history enables us to form a more impressive estimate of the astounding age of Egyptian history than any positive numbers. It gives us some approximate idea of the value of the monuments preserved through such a space of time for understanding that progress of mankind, of which the indestructible boundary stones, on the extremest limit of the political horizon, will be marked for all ages by the pyramids of Memphis.

Ought it to cause surprise if the newly-lighted torch of knowledge does not shine deep enough into these remote ages of hoar antiquity?—if in the dark corridors of primeval history the guiding clue of monumental discovery suddenly breaks off, or reaches its end when least expected?—or if the attention of the historian is fixed chiefly upon strange names, and on the deeds of a time full of simple childlike ideas, for which the history of our own day, with its great world-stirring aims, has long since lost the standard of comparison? However scornfully the spoilt child of our busy age may smile at the life and doings of the 'ancients' of the Nile Valley, yet by the reflecting man that venerable antiquity, with its genuine striving after the dignity of man, will be viewed in the clear light of the earliest dawn of the civilization

and ennobling of his race, and with a simply thankful mind he will devote his full attention to the life and work of these forefathers of mankind, as it is portrayed by their own hands.

If, on the one hand, the monuments of this most ancient history have in our day received so remarkable an increase, that they serve to fill up in the most welcome manner many gaps in the first edition of our Egyptian History, to correct many errors, and not seldom to confirm or to contradict conjectures previously made; so meanwhile another advantage has been won for these enquiries, the importance of which for historical research may be pronounced immeasurable. The deciphering of the old Egyptian texts has, by the united labour of gifted men of science, particularly of late years, reached such great certainty, in consequence of a methodical treatment, that the contents of each inscription can be exactly determined, at least so far that gross errors are no longer possible. A sober and healthy criticism has begun to assert its full right in this province, as in others, by subjecting the course of its researches to the general laws of enquiry into that which is as yet unknown.

What conquests the growing knowledge of the old Egyptian language and writing has meanwhile won for historical research, is best shown by the numerous writings of distinguished men of science, who have chosen the deciphering of the most important inscriptions of Egyptian antiquity as the object of their studies, the results of which throw such a surprising light on the most important periods of the ancient his-

tory of the country. The works of real genius by the never-to-be-forgotten Viscount E. de Rougé (a French scholar too early lost to science by death) on the irruption of the Mediterranean peoples into Egypt in the times of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, and the invaluable contributions which M. Chabas, of Chalons, has made towards a knowledge of the same reigns, especially by his acute deciphering of the hieratic rolls of papyrus in the British Museum, form turning points of the highest importance in the whole province of Egyptian history, and deserve to be mentioned as real conquests of the first order.

In the presence of these venerable remains of monuments, the witnesses of a past world full of riddles and wonders, and considering the important discoveries which the acuteness of the human mind has wrung from the surviving inscriptions in the most recent times, we may perhaps be permitted to indulge the modest hope, that this new edition of the History of the Ancient Egyptians may at least in some degree answer the requirements which the reader is entitled to ask for in the treatment of an attractive subject, the materials of which have already been prepared by the labours of scholarship. For the scholar retires from the stage, and leaves to the historian the delightful but difficult task of exhibiting in one view that whole, whose several parts have been treated separately by the varied resources of science, often without divining or anticipating their connection.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS. THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

ALTHOUGH, in so long a space of time as sixty centuries, events and revolutions of great historical importance must of necessity have completely altered the political state of Egypt, yet, notwithstanding all, the old Egyptian race has undergone but little change; for it still preserves to this day those distinctive features of physiognomy, and those peculiarities of manners and customs, which have been handed down to us, by the united testimony of the monuments and the accounts of the ancient classical writers, as the hereditary characteristics of this people.

Historical researches concerning a race of mankind are inseparably connected with the important and momentous enquiry after their primeval home, the cradle of their historic childhood. Nor does the historian by himself possess the means for a satisfactory solution of this question. The auxiliary sciences of the natural history of the human race and of comparative philology must be taken into council, in order to guide us, even though it be but approximately, to the origin of nations and the directions in which they

have migrated. It is not our intention to occupy ourselves with the details of those researches, on the basis of which the first-named science has laboured to determine the primeval home of the ancient Egyptian race. It may suffice to lay down, first of all, as a settled point—although the fact is questioned by the younger school—that this science believes itself to possess positive proofs, as the result of which the forefathers of the Egyptians cannot be reckoned among the African races, properly so called. The form of the skull—so at least the elder school teaches—as well as the proportions of the several parts of the body, as these have been determined from examining a great number of mummies, are held to indicate a connection with the Caucasian family of mankind. The Egyptians, together with some other nations, form, as it would seem, a third branch of that race, namely, the family called Cushite, which is distinguished by special characters from the Pelasgian and the Semitic families. Whatever relations of kindred may be found to exist in general between these great races of mankind, thus much may be regarded as certain, that the cradle of the Egyptian people must be sought in the interior of the Asiatic quarter of the world. In the earliest ages of humanity, far beyond all historical remembrance, the Egyptians, for reasons unknown to us, left the soil of their primeval home, took their way towards the setting sun, and finally crossed that bridge of nations, the Isthmus of Suez, to find a new fatherland on the favoured banks of the holy Nile.

Comparative philology, in its turn, gives powerful

support to this hypothesis. The Egyptian language—which has been preserved on the monuments of the oldest time, as well as in the late-Christian manuscripts of the Copts, the successors of the people of the Pharaohs—in no way shows any trace of a derivation and descent from the African families of speech. On the contrary, the primitive roots and the essential elements of the Egyptian grammar point to such an intimate connection with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages, that it is almost impossible to mistake the close relations which formerly prevailed between the Egyptians and the races called Indo-Germanic and Semitic.

We must not pass over in silence a Greek story, remarkable because of its origin, according to which the primitive abode of the Egyptian people is to be sought in Ethiopia. According to an opinion strongly advocated by ancient writers, and even subscribed to by some modern historians, little conversant with the facts of the case, the honour of first founding Egyptian civilization should be awarded to a society of priests from the city of Meroë. Descending the course of the Nile—so runs the story—they are supposed to have settled on the territory of the later city of Thebes, and there to have founded the first state with a theocratic form of government. Although, on the authority of the ancient tradition, this view has been frequently repeated in the historical works of subsequent times, it is nevertheless stamped with the mark of error, as it dispenses with any actual proof. It is not to the Ethiopian priests that the Egyptian

empire owes its origin, its form of government, and the characteristic stages of its high civilization; but much rather was it the Egyptians that first ascended the river, to found in Ethiopia temples, cities, and fortified places, and to diffuse the blessings of a civilized state among the rude dark-coloured population. Whichever of the Greek historians concocted the marvellous fiction of the primitive Ethiopic settlement in Egypt was led into the mistake by a confusion with the influence which Ethiopia exercised on the fortunes of Egypt during a comparatively late period, and by carrying this back, without further consideration, into the prehistoric age.

Supposing, for a moment, that Egypt had owed her civil and social development to Ethiopia, nothing would be more probable than the presumption of our finding monuments of the highest antiquity in that primitive home of the Egyptians, while in going down the river we ought to light only upon monuments of a later age. Strange to say, the whole number of the buildings in stone, as yet known and examined, which were erected on both sides of the river at the bidding of the Egyptian and Ethiopian kings, furnish the incontrovertible proof, that the long series of temples, cities, sepulchres, and monuments in general, exhibit a distinct chronological order, of which the oldest starting-point is found in the Pyramids, at the apex of the Delta, south of the bifurcation of the great river. As, in proceeding southwards, we approach nearer and nearer to the rapids and cataracts of the Upper Nile, right into the heart of the later Ethiopian kingdom,

the more does the stamp of antiquity vanish from the whole body of extant monuments; the more evident is the decline of art, of taste, and of beauty. In short, the Ethiopian style of art—so far as the monuments still preserved allow us to form a judgment—is destitute of all independent character. The first view of the Ethiopian monuments at once carries the conviction, that we can recognise in them no special quality beyond the rudest conception and the most imperfect execution of a style of art originally Egyptian. The most clumsy imitation of Egyptian attainments in all that relates to science and the arts, appears as the acme of the intellectual progress and the artistic development of Ethiopia.

According to the accounts of the Greek and Roman writers who had occasion to visit Egypt and to hold close intercourse with the people of the country, the Egyptians themselves held the belief that they were the original inhabitants of the land. The fertile valley of the Nile formed in their opinion the heart and centre of the whole world. To the West of it dwelt the groups of tribes, which bore the general name of Ribu or Libu, the ancestors of those Libyans who are so often mentioned in the historical works and geographical descriptions of the ancients. Inhabiting the north coasts of Africa, they extended their abodes eastward as far as the districts along the Canopic branch of the Nile, now called that of Rosetta or Rashid. From the evidence of the monuments, they belonged to a light-coloured race, with blue eyes and blond or red hair. According to the very re-

markable researches of the French general Faidherbe, the earliest representatives of this race (perhaps of Celts?) may have migrated from the north of Europe to Africa, making their way through the three Mediterranean peninsulas, and gradually taking possession of the Libyan coasts. It is a noteworthy phenomenon that, as early as the remote times of the Fourth Dynasty of Egyptian sovereigns, some individuals of this race (men, women, and children) wandered into Egypt to display their dexterity as dancers, combatants, and gymnasts, in the public games which delighted young and old; just as at the present day the Egyptians still amuse themselves with the buffooneries and skilful tricks of wandering Moghrabins. The Libyans, however, who appear on the walls of the sepulchres from the Fourth to the Twelfth Dynasty, are distinguished from the reddish-brown Egyptians by their light-grey or light-brown complexion, suggesting the probability, that they may not have had a very close relationship to the white Libyans of later times.

The great mixture of tribes in their many branches, who had their primeval homes in the wide regions and marshy districts of the Upper Nile, from the Egyptian frontier at the first cataract (close to the city of Syene), have on the monuments the common name of Nahasu. In the coloured representations they appear of a black or dark-brown complexion, with unmistakable Negro features, and with a thoroughly primitive and simple dress. There can be no doubt that we have to recognise in them the ancestors of the Negro

race of the present day. In the most ancient times, their northern tribes dwelt in immediate proximity to the Egyptian frontier; while the Kar or Kal, often mentioned by the ancient Egyptians about the seventeenth century B.C.—probably the ancestors of the modern Galla—formed the southernmost branch then known of the great groups of nations of Inner Africa. These dark-coloured neighbours often molested the Egyptian subjects of the southern regions; and the kings had to resort to arms in order to drive back the untamed hordes, and to fix a barrier against their inroads by strong garrisons and well-built forts.

Turning our eyes to the East, across the narrow Isthmus of Suez, we meet on the ancient soil the people of that great nation, which the Egyptians designated by the name of Amu. Whether we prefer to explain this name by the help of the Semitic languages, in which it has the general significance of 'people,' or whether we resort to the Egyptian vocabulary, in which *ame* (more usually *amen*) has the meaning of 'herdsman,'—in either case, this one thing is certain, that the Egyptians of the Pharaonic age used the term in a somewhat contemptuous sense. These Amu were the Pagans, the Kaffirs, or 'infidels' of their time. In the coloured representations they are distinguished chiefly by their yellow or yellowish-brown complexion, while their dress has sometimes a great simplicity, but sometimes shows a taste for splendour and richness in the choiceness of the cut and the variegated patterns woven into the fabric. In these Amu scientific research has long

since perceived the representatives of the great Semitic family of nations, though, in our own opinion, the same name includes also many peoples and families, who appear to have but a slight relationship with the pure Semitic race.

The most remarkable nations among the Amu, who appear in the course of Egyptian history as commanding respect by their character and their deeds, are the Kheta, the Khar (or Khal), and the Ruten (or Luten). But moreover it is to be especially remarked, as a fact established beyond dispute, that even in the most glorious times of the Egyptian monarchy the Amu were settled as permanent inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the present lake Menzaleh. A great number of towns and villages, canals and pools, in that region, formerly bore names unmistakably Semitic, as we shall hereafter prove in fuller detail.[1]

The most conspicuous part of Egyptian history, so far as it has been made known by the monuments as yet discovered and by the inscriptions they bear, consists—besides the changes of the Dynasties—of conflicts within and without, and of victorious campaigns which the Pharaohs undertook at the head of their warriors against the nations who were their nearest neighbours. In such expeditions the kings sought to open new roads to all parts of the then known world, in order to extend the power and the territories of the Egyptian empire to the utmost bounds of the earth with which they were acquainted.

[1] See Chapter XI. pp. 230, foll.

In the most glorious times of Egyptian history, inscribed pillars or tablets of stone, set up on the great plains of Mesopotamia as well as in the almost inaccessible regions of Inner Africa, served as speaking witnesses to the fame of the Egyptian arms and to the exploits of the Theban kings of Upper Egypt. Although the ravages of time, in the long course of the world's history, have swept away these conquests without leaving a trace behind, yet the memory of them is clearly preserved in their monuments of victory.

Like the rest of mankind, the Egyptians at last found their energies cramped in their own proper home, and their restlessness found ample satisfaction in the warlike expeditions which opened to them the wide world and led them to covet the possession of the rich and fruitful territories of Asia and Africa beyond their own borders. The agricultural race became a conquering people, regardless of the curse as old as the history of the world. For their foreign possessions, hard to win, but still harder to keep, became a thorn in their own flesh, which at length brought the great body politic of Egypt to a miserable end.

CHAPTER II.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY. CHARACTER OF ITS INHABITANTS.

EGYPT is designated in the old inscriptions, as well as in the books of the later Christian Egyptians, by a word which signifies 'the black land,' and which is read in the Egyptian language KEM or KAMI. The ancients had early remarked that the cultivable land of Egypt was distinguished by its dark and almost black colour, and certainly this peculiar colour of their soil suggested to the old Egyptians the name of the black land. This name and its derivation receive a further corroboration from the fact, that the neighbouring region of the Arabian desert bore the name of *Tesher*, or 'the red land,' in contradistinction to the black land. This red land is the A'in of the monuments (Æan in Pliny), an appellation of the nome afterwards called the Heroöpolitan. On countless occasions the king is mentioned in the inscriptions as 'the lord of the black country and of the red country,' in order to show that his rule extended over cultivated and uncultivated Egypt in the wider sense of the word. We must take this opportunity of stating that the Egyptians designated themselves simply as the people of the black land (Kem), and that the inscriptions, so far as we know, have handed down to us no other

appellation as the distinctive name of the Egyptian people.

On the other hand, the monuments make us acquainted with a number of other names, which served to designate this same land of Egypt in a special manner. Among the oldest is unquestionably the name *Tamera*, which seems to have meant the country of the inundation, and was applied more particularly to Lower Egypt. Other inscriptions belonging to the later age denoted Egypt by appellations conceived for the most part in a poetical spirit. Among the most frequent expressions of this class are the following: The land of the sycomore; the land of the olive; the land of the Holy Eye; the land of the sixth day of the moon (intercalary day). The explanation of these and other designations can only be sought in those writings of the ancient Egyptians, which relate to the doctrine of divine things and to the legends of the gods and divine beings; for it is a well-known fact that the Egyptians, precisely in the same manner as the Hebrews, believed that they found in the name of a person or place reference to certain events or to remarkable circumstances, whence the mere similarity of sound often gave occasion for incredibly bold identifications. The derivation of words according to fixed laws, corresponding to the natural state of things, was quite unknown to the ancients, and it must often make the hair of a modern philologer stand on end, to see the forced and violent comparison of words indulged in by the ancients in their explanations of significant proper names.

A real enigma is proposed to us in the derivation and meaning of the curious proper name, by which the foreign peoples of Asia, each in its own dialect, were accustomed to designate Egypt. The Hebrews gave the land the name of *Mizraim*; the Assyrians, *Muzur*; the Persians, *Mudraya*. We may feel assured that at the basis of all these designations there lies an original form which consisted of the three letters M—z—r, all explanations of which have as yet been unsuccessful. Although I intend hereafter to consider more particularly the derivation of this puzzling name, which is still preserved at the present day in the Arabic appellation *Misr*, I will here anticipate the remark, that this name was originally applied only to a certain definite part of Egypt, in the east of the Delta, which, according to the indications of the monuments, was covered and defended by many *zor*, or fortresses, and was hence called in Egyptian *Mazor* (that is, 'fortified.' See further in Chap. XI., p. 231).

Ancient Egypt, most commonly mentioned in general as 'the double land,' consisted of two great divisions, which, from their situation, were called in contrast with each other the land of the South and the land of the North, as is attested by the inscriptions. The first corresponds to that part of Egypt which, following the Greek name, we now know as Upper Egypt, and which the Arabs down to the present day call by the appellation of Saïd. The land of Upper Egypt began on the south at the ivory-island-city of Elephantiné, which lay opposite

to Syene (the modern trading town of Assouan) on the right bank of the river; and its northern boundary reached to the neighbourhood of the Memphian district on the left bank of the holy river. Northern Egypt comprehended the remaining part of the land, called the Low country, the land of Behereh of the Arabs, the Delta of the Greek writers.

This division, which exists just as much in our own day as it did in the most ancient times, is neither accidental nor arbitrary; for it is founded, not only on a local difference in the respective dialects of the inhabitants, but on the marked distinction of habits, manners, and customs, which divides the Egyptians in the North and the South from one another. As early as the thirteenth century before our era, this difference of speech is proved by documentary evidence. In a manuscript which goes back to that date the learned author takes occasion to contrast the speech of a man of Upper Egypt with the speech of one of Lower Egypt, for the purpose of characterizing most strikingly the obscurity and unintelligibility of a literary work. (See Vol. II. p. 114.)

This chief division of Egypt, which, according to the sacred traditions of the Egyptian priests, was referred back to the time of the god-kings, not only explains the name of 'double country,' especially in the constantly recurring title of the kings, as 'the lords of the double country,' but it enables us to see clearly the grounds of the opposition by which, according to the myth, the sovereignty of the South was specially committed to the god Set, that of the

North to the god Hor, the son of Osiris. It was a perpetual custom of the Egyptians that, after the old traditional manner, every king, on the day of his solemn coronation—which was distinct from the day of his receiving the kingdom in his father's lifetime or on the death of his predecessor—received as his chief insignia two crowns, of which the white upper one symbolised his sovereignty over the South, the red lower one, on the other hand, his dominion over the North, of the Egyptian kingdom.

The land of Egypt resembles a small narrow girdle, divided in the midst by a stream of water, and hemmed in on both sides by long chains of mountains. On the right side of the river, to the East, the chain of hills called Arabian accompany the stream for its whole length; on the opposite, the Western side, the low hills of the Libyan desert extend in the same direction with the river from South to North up to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The river itself was designated by the Greeks and Romans by the name of Neilos (ὁ Νεῖλος) or Nilus. Although this word is still retained in the Arabic language as Nil, with the special meaning of 'inundation,' yet its origin is not to be sought in the old Egyptian language; but, as has been lately suggested with great probability, it should be derived from the Semitic word Nahar or Nahal, which has the general signification of 'river.' From its bifurcation south of the ancient city of Memphis, the river parted into three great arms, which watered the Lower Egyptian flat lands which spread out in the shape of the Greek

letter Δ (Delta), and, with four smaller arms, formed the seven famous mouths of the Nile.

The Egyptian districts, called by the Greeks Nomes (*Νόμοι*), which in the upper country lay on the two sides of the river, comprehended in the inner part of the Delta larger districts, which were surrounded like islands by the arms of the Nile and their canals. Beyond these island nomes, other districts extended on the Arabian and Libyan sides of the Lower Egyptian region of the stream. They are called in the lists the Western and Eastern nomes; and they correspond to the modern provinces of *Gharbieh* and *Sharkieh*, names which have the like meaning.

This special division of the upper and lower countries into the districts called Nomes is of the highest antiquity, since we already find on the monuments of the Fourth Dynasty some nomes mentioned by their names, as well as some towns with the nomes to which they belonged. Thirty centuries later, the same nomes appear on the monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman times, arranged in regular and very detailed tables, which separate the upper and the lower country by a clear division. Upper Egypt contained 22 nomes, Lower Egypt 20, so that there was a total for all Egypt of 42 nomes, which the native language designated sometimes by the word Sep or Hesep, sometimes by the word Tash. According to the account given in a papyrus, the older division into 36 districts rests on a particular view, which connected the terrestrial partition into nomes

with the 36 ruling houses of the heavens (in astrology). In the celestial Egypt, as in the terrestrial, the first nome—in this case that of the first ruler—was dedicated to the goddess of the star Sothis (Sirius).

Each district had its own capital, which was at the same time the seat of the governor for the time being, whose office and dignity passed by inheritance, according to the old Egyptian laws, from the father to the eldest grandson on the mother's side. The capital formed likewise the central point of the particular divine worship of the district which belonged to it.[1] The sacred lists of the nomes have handed down to us the names of the temple of the chief deity, of the priests and priestesses, of the sacred trees, and also the names of the town-harbour of the holy canal, the cultivated land and the land which was only fruitful during the inundation, and much other information, in such completeness that we are in a position, from the indications contained in these lists, to form the most exact picture of each Egyptian nome in all its details, almost without any gaps. Finally we must not omit to remark that the several districts were separated from each other by boundary stones, and that the Egyptian authorities took the greatest pains in attending to the measurement of all the lands, to the making of canals, and the inspection of the dykes.

Egyptian history, so far as the monuments preserved from eternal oblivion throw light on the matter, furnishes proof that each nome formed in a certain degree a government complete in itself. It

[1] See the List of Nomes in Vol. II. Appendix B.

happened very often that the inhabitants of one district threatened an attack on the occupants of another, on account of some dispute about divine or human questions. The hostile feelings of the opponents not unfrequently broke out into a violent struggle, and it required the whole armed power of the king to extinguish at its first outburst the flaming torch of war, kindled by domineering chiefs of nomes or ambitious priests.

The disastrous results of such feuds sometimes affected even the whole Dynasty. The reigning family had to descend from the throne and give up the country and crown to the victorious prince of a nome. Hence not unfrequently arose those changes of dynasty, and different names of the capitals of nomes, which we find in the Book of the Kings handed down to us from Manetho. There are, however, three districts, above all others, which through the course of Egyptian history maintained the brilliant reputation of being the seats of government for the country: in Lower Egypt the nomes of Memphis and Heliopolis (On), and in Upper Egypt that of Thebes.

The old inhabitants of Egypt, like their descendants of to-day who inhabit the 'black country,' obtained nourishment and increase from their favoured soil. The wealth and prosperity of the country and its inhabitants were founded on agriculture and the breeding of cattle. Tillage, favoured by the proverbial fertility of the soil, had its fixed seasons regulated by the annual inundations. The special care already bestowed in the remotest antiquity on that

important part of agricultural industry, the breeding and tending of cattle, is set in the clearest light by the evidence of the monuments. The walls of the sepulchral chapels are covered with thousands of bas-reliefs and their explanatory inscriptions, which preserve for us the most abundant disclosures respecting the labours of the field and the rearing of cattle, as practised by the old Egyptians. In them navigation also plays an important part, as the sole means of transport for long distances. In ancient times, as in our own day, commerce and traffic were carried on upon the Nile and its canals. On the chief festivals of the Egyptian year the Pharaohs themselves did not disdain to sail along the sacred river in the gorgeous royal ship, in order to perform mystic rites in special honour of agriculture. The priests regarded the plough as a most sacred implement, and their faith held that the highest happiness of man, after the completion of his pilgrimage here below, would consist in tilling the Elysian fields of the subterranean god Osiris, in feeding and tending his cattle, and navigating the breezy water of the other world in slender skiffs. The husbandman, the shepherd, and the boatman, were in fact the first founders of the gentle manners—the honoured authors of that most ancient peaceful life—of the people who flourished in the blessed valley of the Nile.

We cannot close this chapter without taking an enquiring look at the peculiar mental endowments of the ancient Egyptians, about which the information of the monuments will be of course our faithful guides.

There are not wanting very learned and intelligent persons—not excepting some who have won an illustrious name in historical enquiries—who teach us to regard the Egyptians as a reflective, serious, and reserved people, very religious, occupied only with the other world, and caring nothing or very little about this lower life ; just as if they had been the Trappists of antiquity. But could it have been possible—we ask with wonder and bewilderment—that the fertile and bounteous land, that the noble river which waters its soil, that the pure and smiling heaven, that the beaming sun of Egypt, could have produced a race of living mummies and of sad philosophers, a people who only regarded this life as a burthen to be thrown off as soon as possible? No! Travel through the land of the old Pharaohs ; look at the pictures carved or painted on the walls of the sepulchral chapels ; read the words cut in stone or written with black ink on the fragile papyrus ; and you will soon be obliged to form another judgment on the Egyptian philosophers. No people could be gayer, more lively, of more childlike simplicity, than those old Egyptians, who loved life with all their heart, and found the deepest joy in their very existence. Far from longing for death, they addressed to the host of the holy gods the prayer to preserve and lengthen life, if possible, to the 'most perfect old age of 110 years.' They gave themselves up to the pleasures of a merry life. The song and dance and flowing cup, cheerful excursions to the meadows and the papyrus marshes—to hunt with bow and arrow or sling, or to fish with

spear and hook—heightened the enjoyment of life, and were the recreations of the nobler classes after work was done. In connection with this merry disposition, humorous jests and lively sallies of wit, often passing the bounds of decorum, characterised the people from age to age. They were fond of biting jests and smart innuendos; and free social talk found its way even into the silent chambers of the tomb. But the propensity to pleasure was a dangerous trap for the youth of the old Egyptian schools, and the judicious teachers had much need to keep a curb on the young people. If admonition utterly failed, the chastising stick came into play, for the sages of the country believed that 'the ears of a youth are on his back.'

The lowest classes of the people, 'the mob,' as the inscriptions call them, were occupied with husbandry, the breeding of cattle, navigation, fishing, and the different branches of the most simple industries. From a very early period stone was wrought according to the rules of an advanced skill; and metals—gold, silver, copper, iron (at first meteoric iron)—were melted and wrought into works of art or tools and implements; wood and leather were formed into a great variety of valuable objects; glass was cast; flax was spun and woven into linen stuffs; ropes were twisted; baskets and mats of rushes were plaited; and on the round potter's wheel great and small vessels were formed by clever artists from the rich clay of the Nile, and baked in the fiery furnace. Sculptors and painters found profitable work among

the wealthy patrons of art at the court of the Pharaohs; and a whole world of busy artisans worked for daily wages under the bright blue sky of Egypt.

But all these, the humble followers of the earliest human art and industry, were held 'in bad odour;' and the lowest scribe in the service of a great man looked down with the greatest contempt on the toiling, labouring people. It was esteemed better to be a servant in the house of the Pharaoh, or to bustle about in the service of their masters in the halls of the noble families. Though themselves children of the people, the class of servants found help and protection from their lords, and had a share in the honour of the court. Spoilt by the plenty, luxury, and extravagance of splendid life, they knew not the painful lot of the workman. Death itself did not grudge the servants a part with the owners of the gorgeous sepulchres. For in the chambers of the dead, whose deep pits hid in the place of honour the embalmed bodies of the noble master, room was reserved by the artist's hand for the memory of the faithful servant. But too obedient to the orders of their lords, the servants held in slight regard the 'stinking' masses of the people, and abhorred the society of the 'miserable' traders and workmen.

Returning from successful campaigns abroad to the banks of the holy river, the princes and captains of the warriors, in the course of time, brought a great number of prisoners into the country, as booty of war: king's children, nobles, and common people of foreign origin. Some as hostages, others as slaves,

inhabited the towns of their Egyptian lords; those not noble being promoted to the rank of domestic servants, or condemned to work in the fields with the common herd of the people. Dark-coloured inhabitants of the southern regions of the Upper Nile and light-coloured Canaanites, armed with sticks, attended the great men on their journeys as guards of honour, or, in the service of the court, enforced respect in an office like that of the cawasses of our day.

The noble class of the Egyptian people had nothing in common with the vulgar 'mob;' for they derived their origin, for the most part, from the royal house, the nearest branches of which, the king's children and grandchildren (*Sutenrekh*), were held in high honour and respect. To them were committed the highest offices of the court, to which they were attached by abundant rewards from the Pharaoh's ever open hand. The nobles held as their hereditary possessions villages and tracts of land, with the labouring people thereto belonging, bands of servants, and numerous herds of cattle. To their memory, after their decease, were dedicated those splendid tombs, the remains of which, on the raised plain of the Libyan desert or in the caverns of the Egyptian hills, are still searched with admiring wonder by later ages, down to our own day. Ambition and arrogant pride formed a remarkable feature in the spirit of the old dwellers on the Nile. Workman competed with workman, husbandman with husbandman, official with official, to outvie his fellow, and to appropriate the favour and praises of the noble lords. In the schools, where

the poor scribe's child sat on the same bench beside the offspring of the rich, to be trained in discipline and wise learning, the masters knew how by timely words to goad on the lagging diligence of the ambitious scholars, holding out to them the future reward which awaited youths skilled in knowledge and letters. Thus the slumbering spark of self-esteem was stirred to a flame in the youthful breast, and emulation was stimulated among the boys. Even the clever son of the poor man might hope by his knowledge to climb the ladder of the higher offices, for neither his birth nor position in life raised any barrier, if only the youth's mental power justified fair hopes for the future. In this sense, the restraints of *caste* did not exist, and neither descent nor family hampered the rising career of the clever. Many a monument consecrated to the memory of some nobleman gone to his long home, who during life had held high rank at the court of Pharaoh, is decorated with the simple but laudatory inscription, 'His ancestors were unknown people.'

It is a satisfaction to avow that the training and instruction of the young interested the Egyptians in the highest degree. For they fully recognized in this the sole means of elevating their national life, and of fulfilling the high civilizing mission which Providence seemed to have placed in their hands. But above all things they regarded justice, and virtue had the highest value in their eyes The law which ordered them—'To pray to the gods, to honour the dead, to give bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, cloth-

ing to the naked'—reveals to us one of the finest qualities of the old Egyptian character, pity towards the unfortunate. The forty-two commandments of the Egyptian religion, which are contained in the 125th chapter of the 'Book of the Dead,' are in no way inferior to the precepts of Christianity; and, in reading the old Egyptian inscriptions concerning morality and the fear of God, we are tempted to believe that the Jewish lawgiver Moses modelled his teachings on the patterns given by the old Egyptian sages.

In the course of this history we shall have frequent occasion to return to the noble qualities which distinguished the old Egyptian character.

But the medal has also its reverse. However admirable the virtue which, on the one hand, according to the testimony of the contemporary monuments, distinguished the forefathers of the Egyptians, they were not free, on the other hand, from vices and failings, which we cannot pass over in silence without exposing ourselves to the reproach of flattery at the expense of truth. We are not speaking of those vices arising from the ungoverned passions, which are but too common to the whole nature of man, but of positive faults of disposition, which seem to be hereditary in a people, and which, in the case of the ancient Egyptians, were attended by consequences very visible. Hatred, envy, cunning, intrigue, combined with an overweening sentiment of pride, contradiction, and perversity, added to avarice and cruelty—such is the long series of those hereditary faults which

history reveals to us among the Egyptians by unnumbered examples in the course of centuries. Above all, we must especially beware of cherishing the belief, that the rule of the Pharaohs opened to the inhabitants of the land the gates of a terrestrial paradise. The people suffered and endured under the blows of their oppressors, and the stick quickened the despatch of business between the peasant and the tax-gatherer. We need but glance at the gigantic masses of the Pyramids; they tell us more emphatically than living speech or written words of the tears and the pains, the sufferings and miseries, of a whole population, which was condemned to erect these everlasting monuments of Pharaonic vanity. Thirty centuries even could not efface the curse resting on their memory. When Herodotus, about the middle of the ~~fifteenth~~ century before Christ, visited the field of the great pyramids of Gizeh, the Egyptians told him of the imprecations wrung from their unhappy forefathers; and they would not, from a feeling of abhorrence, so much as utter the names of the kings who constructed the two highest pyramids, whom we now know to have been the Pharaohs Khufu and Khafra.[2]

[2] The names of these kings, who will be fully treated of in their place (Chapter VII.), are often read as Shufu and Shafra. But Dr. Brugsch observes that the genuine and *only correct forms* were those with the *Kh*: the *Sh* was a *later* pronunciation. (See Note to Chapter XII. pp. 263–64.)—ED.

CHAPTER III.

THE PREHISTORIC AGE OF EGYPT.

The scientific students of our day, who trace back the history of mankind to the times when the races of men still lived in the condition of savages, have arranged in succession the three ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron, in order to fill up by this regular series the void which exists in all the records of history. Although we will not dispute that history may regard everything as an object for its consideration, yet we must openly acknowledge the fact, that, up to this time at least, Egypt throws scorn upon these assumed periods. So far as the historical record on the surviving monuments of Egypt reaches back, their beginnings coincide with the first age of the stone period, which the learned men of our time have invented in order to bridge over the historical chasm with a tangible fact. The result is, to speak in other words, that the history of Egypt must be the most ancient in the world—Egypt must appear to us in the light of the first human civilization. There is, therefore, the more reason for us to follow the precious traces of this most ancient past, and to welcome the slightest relics of those times as vene-

rable memorials which the earliest civilized race of men has left us of their actions and their life.

The Egyptians, like the ancients in general, were assuredly as inquisitive as ourselves of knowledge about the prehistoric times; but with this difference, that for them primeval history was concerned very little with the people and much more with the fame of the kings. Their enquiries were directed to the names and genealogies of the princes who ruled the land before the first legitimate king, Mena.

The ancients cared little for those profound researches which our modern age, prompted by a burning thirst for knowledge, is accustomed to set on foot in order to penetrate the darkness which envelops the origin of the nations. At the point where historical information ceased, where Clio laid down her pen, and all further search for the lost sources of the great stream of history was wasted labour, the myth began to claim its rights, imagination replaced facts, and invention scorned the test of criticism.

As the Egyptians could not discover in the records of their monuments the primeval history of their land before the Pharaoh Mena mounted the throne, their imagination supposed three ages which followed one another, till Mena placed the double crown upon his head. During the first age a Dynasty of the Gods reigned in the land; this was followed by the age of the Demigods; and the dynasty of the mysterious Manes closed the prehistoric time. It seems very likely that these dynasties contain some

remembrance like that of the ages of gold and silver in the poetic fictions of the Greeks.

The theology of the Egyptian priests did not fail to furnish materials for filling up these three ages with heavenly persons and names. The calculations of the courses of the stars, based on the cycle of the risings of Sothis (the Dog-star), gave the numbers which were added as regnal years to the names of these imaginary prehistoric sovereigns. As the sacred guilds of the priests at Memphis, Thebes, and other cities of Egypt, were not of one opinion, but differed from one another in their various doctrines about the nature of the gods and their connection with earthly things, we need not be surprised if the lists of the three prehistoric dynasties contained different names and numbers, according to their respective origin.

To give but one example, we subjoin the names of the divine kings of the First Age (leaving out the numbers of years assigned to them), first in the Theban order, and then according to the arrangement of the Memphian priests: adding to the names of the Egyptian deities the corresponding classical appellations.

THE DYNASTY OF THE GODS.

I. *According to the Theban Doctrine.*

1.	Amon-Ra, 'the King of the Gods' . . .	Jupiter.
2.	Mont, his son	Mars.
3.	Shu, son of Ra	Agathodæmon.
4.	Seb, or Qeb, son of Shu	Saturn.
5.	Osiris, son of Seb	Bacchus.
6.	Horus, son of Osiris	Apollo.

II. *According to the Memphian Doctrine.*

1. Patah, 'the Father of the Gods' (the Architect of the World)	Vulcan.
2. Ra, son of Patah (Fire—Existent Being—the Present)	Sol (the Sun).
3. Shu, his son (the Air)	Agathodæmon.
4. Seb, his son (the Earth)	Saturn.
5. Osiris, his son (Water—Being that has existed—the Past)	Bacchus.
6. Set, son of Seb (the Annihilation of Being) .	Typhon.
7. Horus, son of Osiris (the Coming into Being, the Future)	Apollo.

A student who is inititated into the teachings and views of the priests about the being and nature of the deities—so far as we can learn them from the monuments—will find in the names of these heavenly kings, and in their order of succession, the matter and opportunity for very remarkable conjectures.

Thus the god Patah of Memphis, whom the inscriptions honour with the title of 'father of the gods,' is the Architect, in the highest sense of the word. This is at once indicated by his name, for Patah, in the Egyptian language, signifies 'architect, former, constructor.' On the other hand, there are not wanting very significant inscriptions, which throw a clear light on the sacred attributes of this Architect of the Universe. The following words, which may be read on the walls of the temple of Denderah, call the god expressly 'the chief of the society of the gods, who created all Being. All things came into existence after he existed. He is the lord of truth and king of the gods.' On the walls of the Temple of Isis, at Philæ, it is said of the same god, that it is

'he who created all Being, who formed men and gods with his own hands.' Another inscription at the same place speaks of the being of Patah in the following terms: 'He is the father of beginnings, who created the egg of the sun and of the moon;' while a third text at Philæ more briefly but not less clearly calls him 'the father of all the gods, the first existing.' These examples are sufficient to prove the supreme place of the divine architect at the head of the god-kings. He is God the Creator, who existed before the creation of the universe, his own exclusive work.

The god Ra, the Sun, his successor, according to the Memphian doctrine, is invoked in several sacred hymns as 'the son of Patah.' According to the various doctrines in different parts of the country, this god bears the double names of Khnum-Ra, Amon-Ra, Sebek-Ra, Khem-Ra, Hor-Ra, &c., all of which are only different local denominations of the same divinity. Ra is the sun, and in this character the representative of Light and Fire in the series of the four elements of the world. In another deeply mystic sense he is the divine form of existence in the most comprehensive sense of the word: he is 'that which is to-day, the present.'

His son and successor, Shu, recals by his name the idea of emptiness or dryness. As an element, this divinity is identical with wind or Air.

The divine Seb, who, in the great calendar-inscription of the temple of Esneh, is called 'son of Shu,' appears in the documents and monuments of priestly origin as the personified image of the earth, and in

this character as the natural representative of the third element, Earth. Yet it is a striking fact that the etymological sense of the word Seb, which in old Egyptian denotes both 'star' and 'time,' is in manifest opposition to the character attributed to him as the earth-god. That there is no error or self-deception here, is made clear to us by the identification made also in classical antiquity between the Egyptian Seb and the Greek Kronos, the son of Uranus and Gæa, under whose reign the golden age flourished upon earth.

To his son Osiris—the divinity adored in all parts of the land, with the exception of three nomes, and in whose forty-two temples of the dead, or Serapeums (the most celebrated of which were those of Abydus and Busiris), great sacrifices were offered in memory of the departed—the Egyptian priests assigned the particular meaning of the fourth and last element, that of Water. According to a deeper conception, they believed that they recognized in the god Osiris the symbol of existence completed, for the god is 'that which was yesterday, the past.'

We will not here dwell upon the hostile divinity of his brother Set, to whom we intend hereafter to give full consideration. Next to him comes under our notice the god of light, Hor (Horus, Apollo), the son of Osiris and of his divine wife Isis. According to the doctrine of the Egyptian sages, the form of the beautiful Hor symbolizes the return of a completed existence, 'the new life, that which will be to-morrow, the future;' in a word, the being born

again in the eternal cycle of earthly phenomena. Such is Hor, the primeval form and type of every royal successor of the Pharaohs, just as Ra represented the reigning Pharaoh, and Osiris the deceased king. A myth spun out to great length about Hor, whom Isis by her mysterious magical arts awakens to life from the dead Osiris in the form of a child, tells of the combat of the youth and his companions with Set, the brother and murderer of his father, of the final victory of the god of light over Set, the prince of darkness and of eternal conflict and annihilation, and of the exaltation of the young king Hor on the undivided throne of his father Osiris.

According to the testimony of the monuments, the duty was imposed upon each earthly Pharaoh, as the successor of Hor—on receiving the royal dignity —to accomplish a certain number of festive ceremonies, which were distinctly prescribed by a law, and were regulated in detail by the holy legend of Hor's enthronization.

Of the royal gods, of whom we have spoken above, frequent mention is made in the old Egyptian records of every period; and the fact is noteworthy, that they are referred to as kings, who actually reigned ages before, with the addition of their respective regnal years. Besides the name of their dynasty, they have a second name of honour, and, just like the Pharaohs, they bear respectively the authentic title under which the god Thut, the holy scribe of the gods, registered each of them in the Book of the Kings, at the command of the Sun-god, Ra. They have their individual

history, which the holy scribes wrote down in the temple-books; they married royal brides, and begat a very numerous posterity. In reality, all these poetical fables have not the slightest historical foundation, nor do they throw any light on the epoch which preceded and introduced the rule of Mena; but yet they serve as trustworthy evidence of the historical sentiment possessed by the ancient Egyptians, and of their earnest desire to hand down in the mythical form to future generations the remembrance of the oldest prehistoric past.

The monuments preserve for us little information about the two fabulous dynasties which followed those of the god-kings, and which, in the extracts preserved in Greek from the lost Book of Kings by the Egyptian Manetho, are designated as the dynasties of the Demigods and of the Manes. It is to be regretted that the fragments of the Turin papyrus (once containing the most complete list of the kings of Egypt in their chronological order) have preserved not the slightest intelligible information about those fabulous successors of the god-kings. A single shred allows us to make out with tolerable certainty the names of sacred animals, such as the Apis of Memphis and the Mnevis of Heliopolis, so that it would appear as if these also had contributed to the number of the prehistoric rulers of Egypt. Science has not yet solved the problem, whether the fabulous personages of the dynasties in question are the same who, in the Turin papyrus and in other primitive records of Egyptian antiquity, are included under the general

name of Hor-shesu, that is 'successors of Horus.' The inscriptions very often make allusion to them when they wish to speak of time beyond all memory.

Without occupying ourselves further with these imaginary beings, we must, as has been remarked before, at all events grant the inference, that Egypt had really a life before the historic age, but that the monuments—apart from the fictitious stories of the myths—contain nothing about the condition of the land in those far-distant primeval times. All that we are allowed to suppose on this subject is confined to the assumption, that Egypt's prehistoric age must of necessity correspond to the time of the first development of arts and handicrafts and of human science, as well as to the time of the division and establishment of the higher and lower strata of society.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PHARAONIC HISTORY.

If the reader's curiosity leads him to an enquiry concerning the epochs of time already fixed in the history of the Pharaohs, and to a critical examination of the chronological tables thus far composed by scholars, he must be strangely impressed by the conflict of very diverse views in the computations of the most modern school. As to the era, for example, when the first Pharaoh, Mena, mounted the throne, the German Egyptologers have attempted to fix it at the following epochs :—

	B.C.		B.C.
Boeckh . .	. 5702	Lauth . .	. 4157
Unger . .	. 5613	Lepsius . .	. 3892
Brugsch. .	. 4455	Bunsen . .	. 3623

The difference between the two extreme points of the series is amazingly great, for its number of years amounts to no less than 2079 ! In order to comprehend it more fully, let us suppose, for the sake of comparison, that, some sixty centuries after our time, the learned world should launch out into a discussion about the date of the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, which began, as we at this day know ex-

actly, at the year 30 B.C. Instead then of this correct date, our learned sages would differ so widely in their opinions, that one would propose the year 207 B.C. of our chronology as the highest date, another the year 1872 A.D. of the same chronology as the lowest, for the accession of Augustus! Nevertheless the error has its limits, and we will explain the cause of this. The calculations in question are based on the extracts, already often mentioned, from a work on the history of Egypt by the Egyptian priest Manetho. That learned man had then at his command the annals of his country's history, which were preserved in the temples, and from them, the best and most accurate sources, he derived the materials for his work, composed in the Greek language, on the history of the ancient Egyptian Dynasties. His book, which is now lost, contained a general review of the kings of the land, divided into Thirty Dynasties, arranged in the order of their names, with the length of their reigns, and the total duration of each Dynasty. Though this invaluable work was little known and certainly but little regarded by the historians of the old classical age, large extracts were made from it by some of the ecclesiastical writers. In process of time the copyists, either by error or designedly, corrupted the names and the numbers, and thus we only possess at the present day the ruins instead of the complete building. The truth of the original, and the authenticity of his sources, was first proved by the deciphering of the Egyptian writing. And thus the Manethonian list of the kings served, and still serves, in spite of its

corrupted state, as a guide for assigning to the royal names read on the monuments their place in the Dynasties, as, on the other hand, the monuments have enabled us with certainty to restore to their correct orthography many of the kings' names which have been corrupted in the Manethonian lists. The very thorough investigations, to which learned experts have subjected the succession of the Pharaohs and the chronological order of the dynasties, have shown the absolute necessity of supposing in the list of Manetho contemporary and collateral dynasties, and thus of diminishing considerably the total duration of the thirty Dynasties. Notwithstanding all these discoveries, the figures are in a deplorable state. From the nature of the calculation, based on the exact determination of the regnal years of the kings, every number which is rectified necessarily changes the results of the whole series of numbers. It is only from the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty that the chronology is founded on data which leave little to be desired as to their exactitude.

The great pedigree of twenty-four court architects, to which we have already directed the attention of the learned world in the first edition of our history, and the last scion of which, the architect Khnum-ab-ra, was alive in the twenty-seventh and thirtieth years of the reign of Darius I., has given rise to the new method of fixing the dates of the Pharaohs anterior to the twenty-sixth dynasty, at least approximately, with the help of existing series of genealogies. The credit is due to a Swedish

scholar, Mr. Lieblein, of having, in his last work, turned this new auxiliary to account, as an aid to Egyptian chronology. The importance of this standard for all measurements of time in Egyptian history is incontestable ; and it is strongly confirmed by the proofs adduced by Mr. Lieblein. Assuming, according to the well-known calculation of the father of history, Herodotus, the round number of a century for three consecutive human lives, we possess a means of determining approximately the periods of time which have elapsed, on the one hand, from King Mena to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and again from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the end of the Twenty-sixth. If the objection be raised, that the series of kings contained in the Table of Abydus (for it is of this that we are speaking) does not exhibit a direct succession from father to son, and that therefore the hypothesis of a continuous genealogical series must utterly fail, we observe in reply, that the table in question contains only a selection of legitimate kings, and that the Pharaohs who only reigned a short time, as well as all the usurpers, are passed over in silence ; in other words, that the term of 100 years for three consecutive reigns is rather below than above the truth.

The new table of Abydus, discovered eleven years ago in a corridor of the temple of Seti I. at Harabat-el-Madfouneh, gives a succession of sixty-five kings from Mena, the founder of the line, down to the last reign of the twelfth dynasty. To these sovereigns therefore would be assigned a period of $\frac{65}{3} \times 100 =$

2166 years, leaving the fractional remainder out of the account.

The kings from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, down to the Pharaoh Ramses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty, are twelve in number, according to the same table of Abydus. On the other hand, there were nineteen court-architects, from Nofer-menu, grandson of the architect Boken-khonsu, who lived in the reign of Seti I., down to his remote descendant Aahmes-sa-nit, father of the above-named Khnum-ab-ra, in the time of Darius I. We obtain therefore, for the second period, 12 + 19 = 31 generations, or $^{31}_{3} \times 100 = 1033\frac{1}{3}$ years. The Eighteenth Dynasty would thus have begun its rule over Egypt $1033\frac{1}{3}$ years before the year 525 B.C., that is, in the year 1558 B.C. If we compare this number with the computations of recent critics of Manetho's work, which place the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty in one of the following years—1625 (Bunsen), 1655 (Boeckh), 1684 (Lepsius)—the result is a difference of about a hundred years. But even this difference is only apparent, for it is eliminated by the undeniable fact, that the architect Bokenkhonsu or Bekenkhonsu, whose pedigree makes him appear as contemporary with one of the later Ramessids of the Twentieth Dynasty,[1] must be regarded as a second of the same name, in fact as a descendant of his namesake, the architect of Ramses II., who is passed over in the Table.

If we were to believe the Table of Abydus alone,

[1] See Genealogical Table IV. at end of Vol. II.

the princes of the Twelfth Dynasty would have had the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty for their immediate successors, without any break or interregnum. This would be in accordance with the fact perceived by the acuteness of Mariette-Bey, that the old Egyptian proper names of the persons of the Twelfth, and more especially of the Eleventh dynasty, recur in the same forms on the monuments of the commencement of the Eighteenth dynasty; and further, that at these two periods of Egyptian history the form and ornaments of the coffins are so alike as to be undistinguishable. Here we have a remarkable enigma, for the solution of which we do not yet possess the requisite data.

If we admit, according to the evidence of the Table of Abydus, the sudden transition from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth dynasty, the historical beginning of the Egyptian Empire would fall about the year 3724 B.C., namely 2166 years before 1558 B.C. But if, on the other hand, we assume in round numbers 500 years as the intermediate space of time which divides the end of the Twelfth from the beginning of the Eighteenth dynasty, the result would be that Mena ascended the throne of Horus 500 years before the year 3724, that is in 4244 B.C.

Some men of science believe that they have discovered another mode of arriving at the determination of important epochs of Egyptian history in certain accounts of astronomical observations, which they have for this purpose subjected to exact calculation. The opportunity has been given for compli-

cated calculations of such a kind by the reign of a king named Menophres, under whom, according to a Greek account, a new Sothic cycle began: also by the data contained in several royal sepulchres concerning the risings of the star Sothis (our Sirius) under the reigns of contemporary Ramessids: finally by some miscellaneous monuments relating to astronomy:—but as to the value or worthlessness of these supposed results, scientific criticism has not yet spoken its last word. Instead of growing less, the difficulties in determining the chronological relations of Egyptian history are on the contrary multiplied from day to day; for new problems, the solution of which has still to be waited for, are continually presenting themselves in the province of investigations about chronology. To mention one example, the question is now very properly raised, whether the old inhabitants of the Nile valley used the same form of calendar at all ages of their historical existence;—whether they knew the Sothic cycle of the year or any sidereal cycle derived from observation of the stars;—whether in the tables still extant they recorded the rising and setting of certain stars and constellations merely with the view of fixing their position for a particular epoch of the reign of this or that king:—all questions of the highest importance, but which up to the present time have waited in vain for their solution.

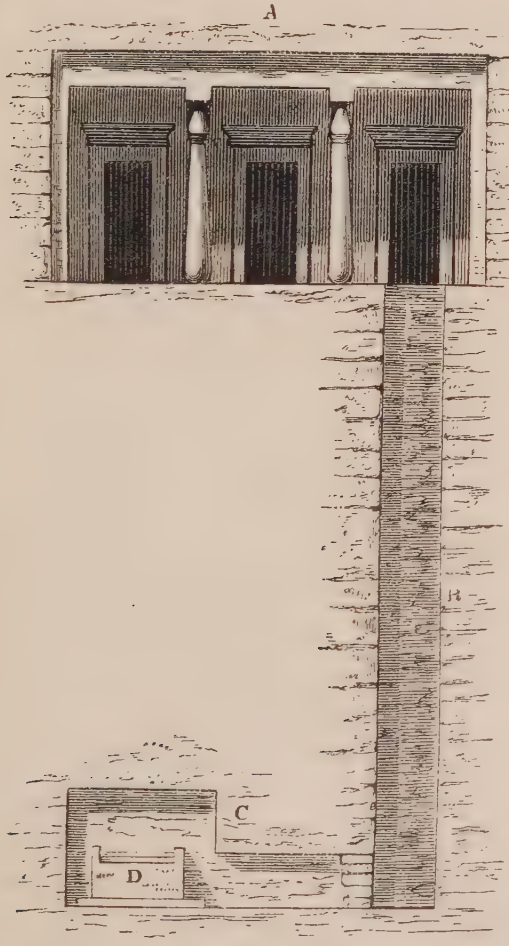
Had the Turin papyrus been preserved to us in its entire state, had we possessed the complete list of the historical kings of the Egyptian empire, we

should probably have been in a position to mould into a perfect shape even the most ancient part of Egyptian history, with the dates belonging to it. But, as the case stands at present, no mortal man possesses the means of removing the difficulties which are inseparable from the attempt to restore the original list of kings from the fragments of the Turin papyrus. For too many of the most necessary elements are wanting to fill up the lacunæ; and who is able to augment and complete the number of the historical monuments, especially those of the most ancient dynasties, which have survived but too rarely in their last ruins, to give satisfactory answers to our questions?

It also appears certain that the long series of the kings, which the Turin papyrus once contained, was arranged by the author according to his own ideas and views. For he gives carefully, besides the names of the Pharaohs, the years, months, and days of their reigns, but he forgets to give also any account of the contemporary double reign of two kings, which have been proved beyond all doubt by the inscriptions, and which was a very usual custom in the succession of a son to his father.

The chronological table of the history of the Egyptian kingdom, which is given at the end of this work (Appendix A.), is founded on the principles above explained, so far as dates are concerned, and is only presented to the reader with the extremest caution. I would make the general remark, that the numbers of years assigned to the Dynasties and to

the individual Pharaohs claim merely the value of an approximation, but nevertheless they do not on the whole exceed the actual periods obtained from the monuments.



AN EGYPTIAN TOMB.

A, the exterior building, containing one or more chambers, generally with painted scenes of life, and inscriptions. B, the vertical pit. C, the vault, with the sarcophagus (D) containing the body.

CHAPTER V.

MENA, THE FIRST PHARAOH, AND THE OLD KINGDOM.

In the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, west of the river, in the direction of the Libyan mountains, there stood a small town called by the Egyptians Tini, a name which the Greeks converted, after their manner, into This or Thinis. It was the ancient metropolis of the eighth nome. Lying near to the great city of Abydus, Tini probably formed only a separate quarter of that celebrated city, as would appear from numerous notices in the old Egyptian records. The town of Tini had chosen for its tutelar deity the warlike god Anhur, whom the Greeks and Romans identified with their Mars, while at Abydus Osiris was worshipped with the most holy rites of the dead. Both cities have now vanished from the face of the earth; but their memory is preserved by the vast necropolis, and by the splendid buildings of several sanctuaries which the pious faith of the Egyptians raised on the outermost border of the desert, at the place which the present modern inhabitants of this country call by the Arabic name of Harabat-el-Madfounch (Harabat the sunken).

Although we have next to nothing to relate of the history of the little town of Tini, or This, which in the times of the Roman supremacy enjoyed a certain repute for its purple dyes, yet it must anciently have been

held in special honour by the inhabitants of the land. Even still under the sovereigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the highest servants of the state, of Pharaoh's own race, were denoted by the title of 'King's son of Tini,' a distinction which elsewhere occurs only in the titles 'King's son of Kush,' or of the land of the Ethiopians, and 'King's son of Hineb,' that is, the city of the Moon, Eileithyiapolis.

The very high fame of Tini rested, beyond doubt, on the received tradition that it had been the cradle of the first Egyptian king, and the hereditary seat of his successors of the first two dynasties, according to Manetho's account. The name of this primitive ancestor of all the Egyptian kings was, in the native language, MENA. The Greeks and Romans call him variously Min, Menes, Meines, Meinios, and Meneres, all of them renderings which are easily referred back to the original form Mena, with the primitive signification of the 'steadfast' (or 'stable' or 'constant').

Mena.

Our only knowledge of Mena's history is confined to a few statements of doubtful credit, found in the writings of the classical age. He is said to have been the first lawgiver of Egypt, but to have corrupted the simple manners of the olden time, in that he replaced the frugal mode of life by royal pomp and sumptuous expense. Long after his time—as the story went—Technactis or Tnephachthus, the father of the unfortunate king Bocchoris, on the occasion of an expedition against the revolted nation of the Arabs, was compelled to forego this royal costliness of living.

But the simple bed and fare of the desert pleased him so much, that he resolved henceforth to practise the like temperance. He further commanded the priests to engrave his royal resolution upon a stone of memorial, which contained curses against Mena, and to set it up in the temple of Amon at Thebes.

According to other accounts, Mena first set in order the worship of the gods and the holy ritual of the temples. To him also is ascribed the foundation of the splendid capital of the Old Empire, the city of MEMPHIS, after he had first diverted the stream of the river, in order to gain a wide space for building the new city. By the construction of an enormous dyke, the previous course of the river, along the Libyan range of hills, was cut off, and the bed, thus left empty, was for ever filled up. Although the monuments are silent concerning these statements, yet the proceeding is possible, and ought not to occasion surprise. In our own day we have seen a whole branch of the river dammed up, and the fruitful island of Jezireh, opposite Boulaq, the port of Cairo, united to the mainland on the Libyan shore to the west.

M. Linant-Bey, one of the most active improvers of modern Egypt, has become convinced, by personal examination and by measurements made on the spot, that the great dyke of Cocheiche is in all probability the same which Mena caused to be constructed 6,000 years ago, to give the river an easterly direction. At the present day the old dyke still renders valuable service, for it alone restrains the rush of the inundating waters, which flow with mighty force from the Upper Country into the Lower. Large sluices in the

dyke of the old king Mena are the only outlets for the water into the marsh-land, or back into the bed of the Nile. Thus the volume of water can be artificially increased in the deeper basins, and the level of the river can be so suddenly raised, as to amount, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, to as much as three feet. M. Linant-Bey recognizes, in a spot two miles south of the ancient Memphis, the point at which the Nile was diverted into an easterly direction.

On the fresh site thus won from the river, Mena founded the new city, with its houses, fortifications, and sanctuaries. The Egyptians, like the other nations of antiquity, began the work of founding a city by building the temple, which formed the centre of the future town. New sanctuaries, erected later, occasioned the building of new quarters, which surrounded the oldest temple, and finally formed with it a single great city. The special names which were appropriated to the several temples, embraced likewise the dwelling-places of the inhabitants which adjoined and belonged to it, and thus is explained the remarkable fact, that the Egyptian monuments mention the same town under the most different designations. By following the statements in the lists of the nomes, we come to know many designations otherwise obscure; and this places us in a position to gain a clear understanding of the historical inscriptions that speak of Memphis.

The chief name of the city, which was also that of the nome, Anbu-hat, or the 'White Wall,' was derived from its fortified part, the origin of which may be traced back as far as the old kingdom. The town

in general bore the title Men-nofer, the 'good place,' more rarely Kha-nofer, 'the good appearance,' or Makha-ta, the 'land of the scales.' The name which oftenest occurs is the sacred appellation of the oldest royal residence, Ha-ka-Patah, 'house of worship of Patah,' derived from the chief god of the nome, the holy architect Patah. The whole district, in the midst of which the new city of Mena arose, bore the name of Sokhet-Ra, that is, 'the field of the Sun,' often confounded with the cognate appellation of Shaament, 'the land of the inundation of the West.' The god Patah was worshipped in the temple Za-Patah or Pi-Patah, 'temple of Patah.' The dead of the Memphian nome rested in the cemetery called 'the land of life,' Ankh-ta, in the stony desert, in sight of the town of Memphis. Osiris, the subterranean judge of the dead, had his special temple—his Serapeum, as the Greeks called it—bearing the name of Ha-nub, 'house of gold.' The holy canal at the harbour was called Khet, or Mu-khet, 'the waters of the voyage below.' It carried off the floods of the inundation to the low-lying hinder land of 'the great circumference' (Shen-ur).

We have already spoken of the god Patah: he often bears the additional appellation Sokar or Sokari, traces of which seem to be preserved in the name of the modern village Saqqarah, in the vicinity of the ancient city of Memphis. The wife of the god, a lion-headed goddess adorned with the sun's disk, bore the name of Sokhet, and as their son we meet with Nofer-atum, afterwards I-m-hotep (in Greek Imuthes), the Æsculapius of the Egyptian mythology. The monuments further inform us that a holy snake,

under the name of Zotef, was worshipped in the temple of the god, and that the acacia and the mulberry, and the persea,[1] were reckoned among the sacred trees in Memphis. The bark of the god bore the appellation, 'ship of the lord of eternity;' his high-priest was called, in allusion to the highest title of the god, 'architect' (literally, 'master of the work,' *demiurgus*), while his priestess had the flattering appellation of 'the beautifully formed.' The chief feasts in Memphis were held on the first day of the months Tybi and Mekhir.

The name of the city that occurs most frequently is the word Men-nofer, already mentioned. The Greeks altered it to Memphis, the Copts to Memphi, the cuneiform inscriptions render it by Mimpi. The last and most recent trace of the old name is preserved in Tel-Monf, the modern designation of a heap of ruins close to the former royal residence of the first Pharaohs.

All that now remains of this celebrated city consists of heaps of fragments of overthrown and shattered columns, altars, and sculptures, which once belonged to the temples of Memphis, and of a far-extended line of mounds of *débris*, out of which the ruined chambers and rooms of former dwellings are visible, ghostlike, in the bright sunlight. The traveller, who visits Memphis in the hope of finding ruins which may appear worthy of the fame of the fallen but renowned city on

[1] This is the Greek name of a tree of doubtful species, represented on the monuments as early as the Twelfth Dynasty, and therefore *not* named, as some said, from its having been introduced by the *Persian* Cambyses. Nor is it the peach-tree (μηλέα Περσική, Lat. *Persica*).—ED.

the shores of the Nile, will be grievously undeceived by the sight of such insignificant remnants of antiquity.

Only by a mental retrospect into the past can we see Memphis rise again in its full greatness and splendour, and only then are we recompensed for a pilgrimage to the tomb of this old royal residence, and to the site where once the celebrated temple of Patah, the Egyptian Hephæstus, rose in proud magnificence —now a palm grove and a wide plain cultivated by fellahs near the Arab village of Mit-Rahineh.[2]

The temple of the divine architect of the world, the old central point of the perished capital, lay on the south side of the salt-encrusted plain which stretches between the 'Swine's-hill,' Kum-el-Khanzir, on the east, and the little Arab village of El-Qassarieh on the west. Its length follows a direction from north to south, and the mighty statue of the Pharaoh Ramses II., now buried in a gigantic trench which is already reached by the water of the inundation, shows beyond doubt the place where the splendid gate of the temple with its double towers [3] raised its dark masses in the blue expanse of heaven. The former existence of the holy lake to the north of the great statue of Ramses is proved by the inscription on a massive block, which, lying on its back in the middle of the plain, has the side engraved with hieroglyphics turned upwards. In the

[2] The name of this village, well known to all travellers to the site of ancient Memphis, is evidently of old Egyptian origin, for it appears to be derived from the once common appellation for many places situated on the great canals—Menat-ro-hinnu, 'the port at the mouth of the canal.'

[3] For the exact meaning of this phrase see the Illustration and Note at the end of this chapter, p. 67.—ED.

immediate neighbourhood of the village of El-Qassarieh (curiously enough, this name means 'wash-pot') are shown in grim chaos the broken remains and columns of a temple, the engraved inscriptions on which name Ramses II. as its founder and builder. This building had its chief axis from east to west. Ramses II. had it built of beautifully polished blocks of granite and alabaster, in honour of the divine Patah.

It would seem that in the Middle Ages the remains of the once great city of Memphis were still so well preserved, that their materials and the perfection of their workmanship were capable of exciting the admiration of the Arab visitors to the place. At least we may draw this conclusion from the poetical description of the ruins and wonders of ancient Memphis in the writings left us by Abd-ul-Latif, an Arab physician of the thirteenth century. He begins his description with the very admirable reflections which I quote from the excellent translation of the Baron Silvestre de Sacy:—

'In spite of the immense extent of this city, and of the high antiquity to which it reaches back; in spite of the changing forms of government under the yoke of which it has passed in the course of ages, and although various nations have done their utmost to raze it to the ground, making its smallest vestiges disappear, and obliterating the least traces of it, while they transported elsewhere the stones and other materials of which it was constructed, destroyed its edifices, and mutilated the statues which adorned them; in short, not to weary the reader with all the causes of destruction which 4,000 years and more have of necessity contributed; its ruins still offer to the eyes of the spectator a collection of wonderful works which confound the intellect, and which the most eloquent man would in vain labour to describe. The longer we look upon the scene, the greater is the admiration it inspires; and every new glance that we cast upon the ruins becomes a new cause of delight. Scarcely have they awakened a distinct idea in the soul

of the spectator, when a still more wonderful idea suggests itself; and, just when you believe you have gained complete knowledge of them, at that very moment the conviction forces itself on the mind, that what you have learnt to know is still very far from the truth.'

After this enthusiastic burst of admiration, the learned physician launches out into a description of the celebrated green chamber, consisting of a single block of stone, which was nine cubits high, eight wide, and six long, and was covered with figures of men and animals of extraordinary proportions.

The repeated excavations which have been undertaken in our day on the ancient soil of Memphis, in the hope of striking upon monuments of historical value, have given results hardly worth naming. It seems, therefore, that the immense masses of stone used of old in the building of the temples have been in the course of time transported to Cairo, to supply the materials needed for the mosques, palaces, and houses of the well-preserved city of the Khalifs.

Next to Thebes, the royal capital of Upper Egypt, Memphis is the city about which the speaking stones and the written rolls have the most to tell us. In our special work on the geography of ancient Egypt, we have cited from the monuments the number of temples and sanctuaries which once formed the glory of the city, from the house of the deity Patah to the abode dedicated to the foreign goddess Astarte. The high-priests of Patah, following the example of their Theban fellows, notably distinguished themselves during the course of historical events by their authority and influence. Even princes of the blood royal did not find it beneath their dignity to hold the office of

high-priest of Memphis, as, for example, Khamus, the favourite son of Ramses II., who died early, and who gave many gifts of honour to the gods of the temple, and fulfilled the rules of the divine service. It was not till the decline and fall of the kingdom that the authority of the high-priest also came gradually to an end, when Memphis and Thebes ceased to be the famous residences of the Pharaohs.

Along the far-stretching margin of the desert, from Abou-Roash as far as Meidoum (the ancient city of Mi-tum), lay in silent tranquillity the necropolis of Memphis with its abundance of tombs, overlooked by the stupendous edifices of the pyramids, which rose high above the monuments of the noblest among the noble families, who, even after life was done, reposed in deep pits at the feet of their lords and masters. Here are buried the contemporaries of the third, fourth, and fifth dynasties; but their memory has been preserved by pictures and writings on the walls of the sacrificial chambers built over their tombs. From this source flows the stream of tradition, which carries us back to the time and to the soil of the oldest historical kingdom in the land. If the unnumbered multitude of tombs had been preserved to us, it would have been an easy task to reconstruct before our eyes, in uninterrupted succession, the genealogy of the kings and of the noble lines related to them. Fate, however, has not granted this; for their monuments, names, and deeds, are buried and forgotten; but even the few remaining heaps of ruins enable us to imagine the lost in all its greatness.

In that obscure age of antiquity, when the sym-

metrical building of the pyramids and the well executed design of the sepulchral chambers demanded a high intelligence and a skilful hand, the office of architect was the occupation of the noblest men at the king's court. Pharaoh's architects (the Mur-ket), who were often of the number of the king's sons and grandsons, were held in high honour, and the favour of their lord gave them his own daughters out of the women's house as wives.

For these reasons Pharaoh's architects seem worthy of remembrance. The following names of royal architects have survived the destroying hand of time, and are still preserved :—

Heka, architect of the Pharaoh Senoferu ;
Sem-nofer, married to a king's granddaughter, named Amon-Zefes ;
Khufu-hotep, husband of the king's granddaughter Hontnes ;
Khufu-ankh ;
Mer-ab, a king's child, son of the Pharaoh Khufu and his wife Setat ;
Pirson, husband of Khenshut of the blood royal ;
Ti, a man of low extraction, but married to the lady Nofer-hotep from the women's house of the king ;
Hapu, architect of the Pharaoh Teta of the sixth dynasty ;
Meri-ra-ankh, a celebrated architect under King Pepi of the same dynasty.
To these may be added Pehen-ka, Ra-ur, Ai, Uah-mer, besides other names which may have escaped our researches in that world of ruins.

A high dignity, according to the testimony of the speaking stones, belonged to the nobleman who was honoured with the office of 'a prophet of the Pyramid of Pharaoh.' This officer's duty was to praise the memory of the deceased king, and to devote the god-like image of the sovereign to enduring remembrance. The honour of the office was mentioned in the prophet's own tomb, and was associated with the name of his

deified king. Thanks to this ancient usage, the famous names of the ancient Pharaohs were known to us long before the discovery at Abydus of the table of the kings, but without the order of their succession.

The eloquent language of the stones, speaking to us from the tombs of the primeval necropolis of Memphis, tells us much concerning the customs of Pharaoh and his court. The sovereign bears, in the fuller form, the official title of honour, 'King of the Upper and of the Lower Country.' His high dignity was also concealed under other names, such as that of PER-AO, that is, of 'the great house' (or gate),[4] so well known as PHARAOH in the Book of books. The people honoured their ruler as 'lord' (neb) and 'god' (nuter). At sight of him, so the prescription of custom demanded, every native of the land prostrated himself, touched the dust of the ground with his nose, and it was an especial favour if the command of his lord permitted him, in this respectful greeting, only to kiss his knee. In speaking of Pharaoh, they called him 'His Holiness;'[5] and briefly, but yet not less respectfully, by a word equivalent to the German '*man*' (French *on*), signifying HE, that is, the King.

[4] By a curious coincidence, this title is identical with the Sublime Porte. In a tomb recently opened by Mr. Villiers Stuart a new cartouche has been discovered with the name *Peraara*, i.e. 'great house of Ra,' a title sometimes given to the emperor Augustus. (Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, p. 131.)—ED.

Peraara.

[5] 'Seine Heiligkeit,' in the German of Dr. Brugsch, who remarks in his second French edition, that this title (*hon-f*) is exactly equivalent to the modern 'His Majesty.' In the translations of Egyptian texts, we follow Dr. Brugsch's German in preserving the more literal title, as being more characteristically antique.—ED.

The servants, great and small, received his commands. The reward of service consisted in high dignity awarded to the servant, in gifts of honour, and in many another token of grace and favour. Gold necklaces and rich presents of fields, slaves, and maid-servants, were not wanting. The daughters of the king went out of the women's house, and gave their hand to noble lords. The boy, distinguished by early intelligence, who gave good promise for the future, was associated with the king's children as their companion in play and lessons. The wife of the king, and the remaining bevy of royal ladies, his daughters and his daughters' daughters, were for the most part honoured with the sacred dignity of prophetess of the goddesses Hathor and Neit; they lived in the royal 'women's house,' guarded by free men chosen by the king. In the same way a guardian of noble family superintended the 'house of the king's children.' On him devolved heavy responsibility for the bodily health, for the education and discipline of the royal children.

At the court of Pharaoh, with regard to attendance on the sovereign, order, rank, and time were exactly defined, as well for nobles of the purest descent as for the mass of busy servants. Not only did the splendour of his birth secure for the nobleman dignity and authority in the eyes of the people, but far greater weight was given to his prudent wisdom, noble culture, and the brightness of his virtue. The king conferred on nobles of the highest rank, in gratitude for their services, the titles 'hereditary highness' (Erpa), 'prince' (Ha), 'the illustrious' (Set), or 'the

intimate friend' (Semer-uat). The management and service of the court, as well as the administration of the country, was well conducted, under Pharaoh's bidding and direction, by the governor and bailiff, and a countless host of scribes.

The officials were called 'overseers' (Mur), 'enlighteners' (Sehat), 'great ones' (Ur), and 'attendants' (Emkhet), of the master. A high steward directed the king's household; to another belonged the care of the wardrobe; the duty of a third was to attend to the hair and nails of his Holiness, or to prepare his master's bath. Among the band of nobles one was chief master of the singing and playing; it was the duty of another to devise means of amusement for Pharaoh's pleasure. One looked after the magazines of corn, of dates, and of all other fruits; another had charge of the cellar filled with the unfermented juice of the vine, the vessels of oil, the bakery, the slaughterhouse, and the stables. Gold and silver lay heaped up in the treasure-house; the king's councillors kept a book of payments and receipts; and the scribes carefully entered numbers and amounts in long rolls. The sovereign's private property, his fields and boundaries, his lakes and canals, his dwellings and palaces, were placed under the care of the king's stewards. Under Pharaoh's order skilful persons of the class of the nobles had the duty of attending to the buildings and all kinds of work in stone. In the caverns of the mountain of Ta-ro-au (the Egyptian Troy (Troja) of the Greeks and Romans, the Tourah of the present Arabs), opposite to Memphis, they quarried the white limestone for building the royal pyramids and

the tombs, and for the artistic work of the sarcophagi and columns; or they resorted to the southern region, at the opposite extremity of the land, to hew out the hard granite from the Red Mountain behind the city of Suan (the Assouan of our day), and constructed rafts for the more easy conveyance of the vast masses of stone to the lower country in the favourable season of the inundation. The dreaded band of taskmasters was set over the wretched people, who were urged to speedy work more by the punishment of the stick than by words of warning.

The inhabitants of the country in the extensive environs of the towns, or in the villages of the open plain, were kept in order by Pharaoh's governors of nomes. The judges enforced strict obedience to the written law, and administered justice to the oppressed, whose complaints it was the duty of the king's deputies[6] to hear. A great variety of punishments were inflicted on the unjust litigant by the hand of the executioner.[7]

The warlike host of young soldiers (Mesha), consisting of infantry, whom the master of the armoury equipped with clubs and axes, spears, and bows and arrows, were commanded by experienced generals. It was the duty of the commander-in-chief to plan the campaign, dispose the troops, and go out to war with his soldiers. Of a more peaceful kind was the celebrated office of the 'teachers of mysteries' (Hirseshta),

[6] *Anwälte* in the German, *maître des requêtes* in the French, of Dr. Brugsch.—ED.

[7] *Stockmeister*. The French has 'et l'application des peines est confiée aux mains d'un grand seigneur de la cour.'—ED.

for they were the possessors of all hidden wisdom in those ancient times. 'The mystery-teachers of heaven' looked upwards, and, as wise astronomers, explained the ever-changing course of the shining stars. 'The mystery-teachers of all lands' were absorbed in contemplating the nature of earthly things, and appear to have been the geographers of the most ancient world. 'The mystery-teachers of the depth,' if we are not mistaken, were the possessors of all knowledge of that which the earth conceals in its closed abysses, and were initiated into the peculiar nature of the soil. The judgment of these sages must have appeared of great importance, before any one undertook to open the hidden depths of the earth by sinking deep wells.[8]

Others, 'mystery-teachers of the secret word,' wrote well and composed books on subjects of deep thought, whilst the 'mystery-teachers of the sacred language' devoted themselves to the special knowledge of the Egyptian tongue and its parts of speech. Most frequently of all we meet with the 'mystery-teachers of Pharaoh,' or 'of all the commands of Pharaoh,' wise men who held the position of private secretaries to their master. Next to them, the inscriptions of that age inform us of 'mystery-teachers who examine words,' without doubt either learned men of letters of the first rank, or judges who listened to complaints and compared the evidence of the witnesses.

[8] In the second French edition these 'hir-seshta of the depth' are described as 'Pharaoh's geologists, well acquainted with the region of the desert, where it was intended to excavate the sepulchral pits.'—ED.

The countless host of scribes was divided into many branches, according to their business and position at the king's court, or in the halls of the nobles. In obedience to the commands of their master, they wrote with the light reed-pen the manifold events of domestic life on the smooth rolls, accurately recorded the income and expenditure of their master, and kept his books in good order. Yet for a scribe of talent the way was open to the highest honours in the cities of Pharaoh. The mass of servants, and of skilled workmen also, were divided by a fixed order and gradation. They obeyed governors and officials, whose commands they received and executed.

In this manner the welfare of the court and of the country was secured by the firm settlement of the members which made up the whole. Every one in the country maintained his place according to his own worth; the machinery of the state ran in the regular course, being set in motion by the omnipotent will of Pharaoh, placed on high at its head. Blind obedience was the oil which caused the harmonious working of the machinery.

And this whole world, buried and forgotten in its deep desert grave for more than six thousand years under the ruins of its own gigantic works, is now beginning to wake up out of its long sleep of death, like the briar-rose in the legend, and to relate in childishly simple language its long past existence in house and state to a late posterity. With astonished admiration, we of the young world view the ways and actions of these ancient fathers, their moral greatness, the perfec-

tion of their mental powers, their art, their political organization. But where dwells the modern Hir-seshta who can completely lift the veil from the past, and solve for us the dark riddle of the cradle of this primitive branch of the human race?

We will conclude this chapter with the king with whom we commenced it—the Pharaoh Mena. The ancient writers make further mention of his name by attributing to him a campaign against the Libyan tribes. The end of this forefather of the Egyptian dynasties was unfortunate. Mena was seized by a crocodile, and his living body became the prey of the savage beast. Such is the story of the ancients. Was the Typhonic Set, the lord of the horrid water-monsters, embittered with envious hatred against the founder of the most ancient state?

THE GREAT GATEWAY OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE.

a is the gateway (*pylon*); *b b*, the flanking towers, called the towers of the pylon.

The whole edifice is often called *Pylon*, *Propylon*, and, in the plural, *Propyla* and *Propylæa*, and by Dr. Brugsch *Thurmthoren*, 'tower-gates.' The simple inversion of Brugsch's term, gives us the very suitable name of 'gate-tower,' 'gate-towers,' which is already in familiar use with reference to castle-architecture.—ED.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SUCCESSORS OF MENA.

THE names alone, but without the deeds, of the successors of the first Pharaoh, are preserved in the Tables of Kings of Saqqarah and Abydus, harmonizing to some degree with the Turin Book of Kings, which, when complete, contained the names of the same Pharaohs together with the length of their reigns in a similar order. For the sake of comparison, the corresponding portion of the Manethonian list of kings is placed opposite the names as found on the monuments. (See the Table opposite.)

The unerring stone tables show unmistakably the ancient origin of the Greek list, but, on the other hand, they enable us to detect the negligence of careless copyists, who have distorted and mutilated in a most terrible manner the sequence and orthography of the kings' names in the work of Manetho.

A merely superficial examination of the above list of kings' names suggests the important observation that, with the exception of two or three towards the end of the Third Dynasty, they are radically different from the names of the Pharaohs who succeeded them. For they bear the stamp of commonness, or, to use another expression, they betray the nature and origin

Table of the First Three Dynasties.

First Dynasty.

The Monuments.	*Manetho.*	
1. Mena.	1. Menes	62 yrs.
2. Tota	2. Athothis	57 „
3. Atot	3. Kenkenes	31 „
4. Ata	4. Uenephes I.	23 „
	5. Uenephes II.	42 „
5. Sapti	6. Usaphaidos	20 „
6. Mirbapen (Mi-ba) . .	7. Miebidos	26 „
7. (name very difficult to read).	8. Semempses	18 „
8. Qebeh	9. Bieneches	26 „

Second Dynasty.

9. Butau	1. Boëthos	38 „
10. Kakau	2. Kaiechos	39 „
11. Bainnuter	3. Binothris	47 „
12. Utnas	4. Tlas	17 „
13. Senta.	5. Sethenes	41 „
	6. Chaires	17 „
14. Noferka(-ra) . . .	7. Nephercheres	25 „
15. Noferka-Sokari, 8 y. 3 m. 4 d.	8. Sesochris	48 „
16. Hutefa . . . 8 m. 4d.	9. Cheneres	30 „

Third Dynasty.

17. Bubui or Ta Tai, 27y. 2 m. 1 d.	1. Necherophes	28 „
18. Nebka . 19y. . .	2. Tosorthros	29 „
19. Toser-(sa)	3. Tyreïs	7 „
20. (Toser)-tota . . .	4. Mesochris	17 „
21. Setes	5. Soophis	16 „
22. Nebkara	6. Tosertasis	19 „
23. Noferkara		
24. Huni	7. Aches	42 „
25. Senoferu	8. Sephouris	30 „
	9. Kerpheres	26 „

of the common man, in strange contrast with the splendid, long-winded designations of their Pharaonic successors, indicative of the greatness of the king. Besides this, the sign ⊙ of the sun (Ra), which is so essential an element in the composition of Pharaonic escutcheons,[1] makes its first appearance with the twenty-second king of the monumental list.

For the most part the old names suggest, according to their original significance, the ideas of strength and terror, which are very suitable as designations for the men who first succeeded in subjecting the great masses of the people to their own will and law. Mena is 'the constant' or 'the firm;' Tota, 'the smiter;' Kakau, 'the bull of bulls,' hence the original male energy; Senta, 'the terrible;' Huni, 'the hewer.' It is only later that the sacred names of the gods occur in the Pharaonic escutcheons, reminding us by their position of the circle of gods specially venerated by the royal house. Thus Amon, Sebek, Thut, Anhur, and other divine names, appear in the middle of the king's escutcheon, while henceforth the holy sign of the god-king Ra is paraded in a suitable place of honour in the upper space.

Among the rulers of the most ancient kingdom, the fifteenth of the list, Noferka-Sokari ('perfect through Sokari'), is the only one whose name plainly preserves the remembrance of a deity, the Memphian Sokari. But then the question naturally arises, how was it that a king of Tini, the capital of Upper Egypt,

[1] It may be convenient to explain, once for all, that this word, or *cartouche* (in the German *Schilde*, 'shield' in the heraldic sense), signifies the oval ⬭ enclosing the hieroglyphics denoting royal names. The term *cartouche* was introduced by Champollion.—ED.

gave himself a name which, by the presence of the divine Sokari at Mennofer (Memphis), suggests the capital of Lower Egypt? However this may be, one thing is certain, that Mena laid the foundation of this future metropolis, and that the later descendants of his house held their court at Mennofer, not at Tini.

Unfortunately the information of the monuments about these most ancient rulers of the empire of Egypt begins only with the last of the Pharaohs who are mentioned above in the long list taken from the stone tables of the kings.

The doubtful stories of the Greek tradition[2] as to the acts and deeds of the royal predecessors of these latest members of the line, furnish but scanty fare for students hungering for knowledge. It is well, however, to put these to the test, in order to estimate the truth and credibility of the Manethonian sources, as tested by the information supplied by the monuments. As, in the Book of books, Cain's grandchildren and great-grandchildren were the first men in whom want and necessity aroused an inventive genius, so that they appear as taking the lead, for later generations, in building houses, in rearing cattle, and as masters in brass and iron work, so, according to the traditional information of the priest Manetho, derived from the well-preserved treasures of the sacred books, it was the special work of the first kings of Egypt

[2] This somewhat vague phrase refers to the brief memoranda appended to the names of the kings in the Greek extracts from Manetho. The French edition has:—'Pour leurs successeurs nous sommes réduits aux maigres remarques historiques qui, dans la liste Manéthonienne, sont apposées à plusieurs noms propres royaux.'—ED.

to practise the arts, to draw up rules, to lay down the first foundations of knowledge, for the use and benefit of all then living and who were to live after; to clothe justice in the form of laws, and to encourage inventions of many kinds.

Mena's son and heir, called in the Manethonian list ATHOTHIS (a name which includes the three kings, Tota, Atot, and Ata, of the stone table of Abydus), built the royal palace in Memphis, and wrote, wonderful as it may sound, a work consisting of books on anatomy, 'for he was a physician.' The monuments are silent as to a physician of the name of Tota, Atot, or Ata; only a papyrus roll of the most remote age, bought in Thebes by Mr. Ebers, informs us in archaic language that, when king Teta sat on the throne, a prescription for making the hair grow was much commended. More important than this information, at the most only gratifying to hairdressers, is the testimony that the writings of the Pharaohs on medical subjects reach back as far as the First Dynasty of the Thinites. To give one example, let us mention the long medical roll richly covered with hieratic characters relating to the art of healing, which was brought nearly fifty years ago from its place in the necropolis of Memphis to the collection of Egyptian monuments in the capital of the German Empire. As we have elsewhere shown, the roll contains prescription upon prescription for the cure of malignant leprosy, and many other kinds of illness and of fractures. This writing already teaches, although in a simple childish representation of the inner construction and mechanism of the body,

the number and use of its numerous vessels (' pipes '). Though composed in the reign of Ramses II., there is a passage in it which throws back the origin of one part of the work to the fifth king of the table of Abydus. This is what the manuscript itself says :—

This is the beginning of the sum of all methods for the cure of bad leprosy. It was discovered in a writing of very ancient origin in a writing-case underneath the feet of the divine Anubis, in the town of Sokhem,[3] at the time when the deceased Sapti was king. After his death the writing was brought to the sanctuary of the blessed king Senta on account of its miraculous power of healing. And, behold, the book was restored to the feet, and well secured by the scribe of the temple and great physician, Noferhotep. And when this had been done with the book at the going down of the sun, he offered a meat and drink and incense offering to Isis, the lady, to Hor of Athribis, and the god Khonsu-Thut of Amkhit.

What more the priest Manetho was able to tell us about those old times in his book of kings, appears only through meagre extracts in later authors, who have given sufficient proof of their own poverty of intelligence by the bald senseless use they have made of this copious document of antiquity. The reader will hear with astonishment what they found of importance in the book of the priest.

When king Uenephes (Dyn. I. No. 4) ascended the throne, the land of Egypt suffered from a great famine. In spite of all the distress and suffering, it pleased the ruler to employ his people in building pyramids on the site called ' black bull ' (Kakami),[4] where the bodies of the holy Apis-bulls reposed in

[3] The Letopolis of the Greeks and Romans, called by the Copts Ushem, according to the old pronunciation.

[4] The Greeks called this necropolis of Memphis by the very slightly altered name of Kochome.

the Serapeum in the desert. The place is near the modern village of Saqqarah, but it was situated on the steep height of the desert, and it is probable that the building with steps, called 'the pyramid of degrees' of Saqqarah, whose hollow chamber concealed the bleached bones of bulls and the inscriptions chiselled in the stone relating to the royal names of the Apis, was a common sepulchre of the holy bulls, which at this remote age king Uenephes consecrated in pious superstition to this animal.

At the time when SEMEMPSES, the eighth Pharaoh of the First Dynasty, adorned himself with the crown of the country, a great number of miracles were displayed, and a violent plague caused the black death in all quarters. When again another king, by name BUTAU (Boëthos II.), ascended the throne, the earth opened on the holy territory of the town Pibast (Bubastus), and swallowed up many people alive.[5] When king KAKAU (whose name means 'Bull of bulls') succeeded him in the kingdom, then, according to the Manethonian tradition, the divine worship of the bull Hapi (Apis) was instituted in the city of Mennofer (Memphis), and that of the bull Merur or Men (Mnevis) at On (Heliopolis). Also the holy ram Binebded (Mendes) was not forgotten, and in his honour a sanctuary and priesthood were founded at Mendes (Binebded), for the town bore the same name as the sacred animal. Whether what is written in Manetho's Book of the Kings about the

[5] 'This date informs us that the city called in Egyptian Pe-bast, i.e. "the abode of the goddess Bast" (a name still preserved in that of the hill, *Tel-Bast*, near the modern town of Zagazig), was already in existence at the epoch under our notice.'—FRENCH EDITION.

old divine worship of bulls and rams is true, we of after ages can only decide by what the ancient tombs declare to us clearly and plainly about the Hapi-bull. Pure men served the holy animal, whose departure from the light of the sun was deeply lamented; his dead body, adorned with decorations and coverings, was exposed on a high bier; and even his name was borne as an honour by many distinguished persons, who were glad to call themselves by the appellation 'Hapi.'

With regard to the laws of the kingdom we must pay particular attention to what was ordained by the Pharaoh BAINUTER (Binothris, Dyn. II. No. 3) in a case quite special. As he had apparently no sons to inherit the crown on his death, the custom was erected by him into a standing law for ever, that the gentle sex of the women should share the right of inheriting the throne. The working of this new custom had important consequences in the establishment of many a dynasty, either when the queen, after the demise of her husband, took the reins of government or stepped into the place of her youthful son, or when the daughter and heiress of a deceased Pharaoh, who had not the good fortune to be lamented by a family of sons, gave her hand to a foreign husband. So far as the monuments which have been carefully examined enable us to perceive, according to the ancient custom and usage the mother's pedigree had great weight in the order of inheritance, because it gave an unconditional claim of right to the son as the true heir of 'the father of his mother.' The husband

of a royal heiress appeared as king in name only, not in reality, but it devolved on the son of such a marriage to maintain his full right to the throne and sceptre by virtue of his maternal descent. If a Pharaoh married the daughter of a noble family, not of royal race, the offspring of the union, as appears from many occurrences in the history of the kingdom, had not equal rights with the true royal children.

The father of the new Pharaoh was honoured by the title of 'father of the divine one' (*Atef-nuter*), while the mother was called 'mother of the king' (*Mut-suten*). In the majority of cases the succession of the dynasties was determined by the union of new suitors with heiresses of the blood royal, whether the chosen husbands could trace their pedigree back to royal ancestors or not. In this way those difficulties are solved, which sometimes cause the true order of inheritance in the various dynasties to appear in a problematic light.

To interrupt the insipid strain of historical annals by some flavour of poetry, the scanty reports of the Manethonian work tell us that the waters of the sacred river suddenly assumed for eleven days the taste of honey, under the rule of king NOFERKARA (the Nephercheres of Manetho, Dyn. II. No. 7). Though the old records may have mentioned the miracle, we moderns can feel no more sympathy with such a fable than we can with the newly discovered hair-ointment of the time of king Teta. Perhaps a copyist destitute of judgment wished to put upon us a tale similar to the following concerning king

SESOCHRIS (Dyn. II. No. 8). Instead of any information worthy of remembrance about the life and deeds of this ruler, the annalist of his time, by an evident confusion, serves up for posterity the strange information that this Pharaoh was five cubits in height, and three in breadth. The simple man has mistaken the Pharaoh Sesochris of primitive fame for the Sesostris of Greek legend, whose rock-images on Asiatic ground, executed by the creative hand of the sculptor, represented the king, to any one who measured him, as of that gigantic size and height.

When the first king of the Third Dynasty, called NECHEROPHES (a strange transformation of the true ancient name), had ascended the throne of the Pharaohs, the tribes of Libya revolted against the yoke of their Egyptian masters, and took up arms in various quarters. The king only succeeded in subduing the foe, when, by the help of the gods, the pale disc of the moon appeared to grow of a gigantic size, and a sight so unusual threw terror into the ranks of the enemy.

According to the traditions, the heir of this king, TOSORTHROS, was skilled in the art of healing sickness and injuries to the body, and on account of this wisdom the title of 'god of healing' was given him for all futurity. This 'god of healing' was also diligent in other matters, for, with a wise understanding, he invented the art of erecting solid masses of building in well-hewn stone. Also he was able to give better instruction in the painting of the written characters for the use and benefit of people expert in writing.

Here ends, according to the testimony of the work of Manetho, the information—half fabulous, half true—about the first rulers of Egypt and their strange acts and deeds. It teaches us little that we ask to learn, and we are still waiting for the door of the chamber of ancestors of the primitive kingdom to be opened to us.

On the threshold of that door, as yet closed, stands the primeval form—worthy of special notice as historically true—of king SENOFERU. His name, the

Senofe-ru.

meaning of which is 'he who makes good,' is justified by his unconscious act, for he makes good what was wanting for all his precedessors. It is he who holds out through the mists of centuries the first morning greeting from those remotest ages to us young children of a world full of light. It is about him that the voice of the monuments gives their first information. A number of stones, though scanty, yet carved at the time when Senoferu still saw the light of day, make mention of the old king. What the wisdom of all the Greeks did not discover, what appeared as an unsolved secret even to antiquity searching after the pure sources of truth, now lies open to our eyes; for now the dead stones begin to tell us with eloquent voice of the deeds of hoar antiquity.

With Senoferu first appears the strict custom, established and regulated by precedent and law, of adding to the name given to the ruler on the throne of the Pharaohs by his parents, the escutcheon of his sacred name, and further of placing before this double

shield of the king three high-sounding well-chosen titles.[6] Without distinguishing the individual king, the first title always began (1) with a sign which signified the god 'the sun Hor,' who dispenses light and life, blessing and prosperity. His sparrow-hawk, adorned with the royal double crown, served as the ancient representation of the Pharaoh, the lord of the upper and the lower country. (2) The hieroglyphic groups of the second title displayed in like manner the dignity assigned to each king, as 'the lord of the two royal diadems.' (3) The image of honour 'of the golden Hor,' the conqueror of his opponent, stood at the head of the third title. Under that image the Pharaoh was praised and exalted as warrior as well as conqueror, in pompous, stilted words. (4) The sacred name of the king, framed in an oval shield, was easily recognised by the signs prefixed to it: 'the king of Upper and Lower Egypt.' (5) In the last place, when all the titles of honour were written in the fullest form, stood the proper name of the ruler, which had been given him by his father when a child, surrounded, like the holy name, with a cartouche; the standing title 'son of Ra,' that is, of the sun-god, being used as a prefix. The usage of ancient times required that after each king's name the high-sounding name of his pyramid should be placed as a special memorial, so as the better to distinguish the prince, for whom the tomb seemed the

[6] 'Thus the series of official titles and names given to a Pharaoh from his accession was composed of *five* denominations, each of which is preceded by hieroglyphic groups.'—FRENCH EDITION.

sole pledge of lasting fame.[7] It was a praiseworthy and pious custom, whenever the king or even a great noble was mentioned, to add, immediately after his name, 'May he live!' 'May he be well!' 'Good health to him!'

So far as our knowledge of the monuments as yet extends, king Senoferu is the first ruler who was distinguished by four titles of honour. Three name him in common, without distinction, as 'the lord of truth;' the fourth is the name Senoferu, by which he was designated by his father and the people. On the steep wall of rock in the Wady-Magharah, where, in the very ancient caverns formed by the hand of man, we may easily recognize the traces of the miner, Senoferu appears as a warrior, who with a mighty club strikes a vanquished enemy to the ground. The inscription engraved beside the picture mentions him clearly by name, and with the title of 'vanquisher of a foreign people,' who in his time inhabited the cavernous valleys of the mountains about Sinai. The land, which formerly yielded copper ore, with blue and green precious stones, seems in all ancient history to have been a possession much coveted by the rulers of Kemi, and it was without doubt Senoferu who by the edge of the sword gained possession of this mountainous peninsula, and soon became master of the foreign people.[8] By a short sea passage from Egypt

[7] A list of the pyramid-titles of the kings is given in Mr. Villiers Stuart's *Nile Gleanings*, p. 401.—Ed.

[8] An engraving of the Sinaitic inscription of Senoferu is given by Mr. Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, Pl. XLV. p. 276.—Ed.

or by a longer journey on the backs of asses, the soldiers of the king and the troops of miners, with the steward and overseer, reached the valley of the mines to excavate the stone. Even at this day the pilgrim, whom the desire and ardent love of knowledge leads to the East, and whose foot treads hurriedly the gloomy and bare valleys of Sinai, sees traces of the old works in the caverns dating from that spring-tide of all human history. He sees and reads on the half-defaced stone a vast number of pictures and writings. Standing on a high rock, which proudly commands the entrance to the Wady-Magharah, his eye discovers without difficulty the last ruins of the strong fortress, whose well-built walls once enclosed huts beside a deep well, and protected the Egyptian troops from sudden attack. There was also no lack of temples, in which the traveller raised his hands and eyes in prayer to the divine rulers of the land. Above all others it was the sublime Hathor, queen of heaven and earth and the dark depths below, whom the Egyptians worshipped as the protectress of the land of Mafkat, and with her the honour of similar homage was offered to the sparrow-hawk of Supt, 'the lord of the East.'

The princes of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties maintained with a powerful hand the inheritance that Senoferu had left them. The mines were permanently worked, the enemy conquered, and the small number of the gods worshipped.

Senoferu bethought himself in good time of the end of his life, and of a worthy monument. The proud

royal edifice of the pyramid that shines near Meidoum far across the plain, which in its emerald greenness slopes down eastward to the sacred river, contained, we doubt not, the body of Senoferu well hidden within it. The name of the building is in good Egyptian Kha, , a word which in the old language served to denote sometimes 'the rising' (of the sun), sometimes 'the festival,' sometimes 'the crown.'

Here it was, in close proximity to the pyramid of Meidoum, that some curious natives, either by accident or by searching for it, lately discovered the entrance to the tombs of the ancient time, and brought from the night of the grave to the light of day a wonderful group of two statues, venerable from its antiquity, and admirable for its art. The long series of pictures and writings, executed in variegated mosaic by a master's hand, true to nature, and well conceived in its effective play of colours, give us information about Senoferu, and plainly refer to ancient times. The pair of statues, a little smaller than the natural size, shows a man and his wife sitting in a dignified attitude beside each other on a chair of the form of a die. The brilliancy of the eye—imitated in shining crystal, white ivory, and dark ore, in a masterly manner—has all the appearance of life. This sculpture is a work of the greatest antiquity, and will so remain until some older one is found. The man on the right, according to the words of the inscription, was called, when he enjoyed the light of day, Rahotep. He was the son of a king (it is not said of what king), and had filled many important offices during his life. He led the

warriors in the service of the king, and in On, the town of the god Ra, he bore the sacred office of chief of the priests. His wife, known as Nofert ('the beautiful' or 'the good'), was granddaughter of a king who is not named.[9]

We now take leave of the time of Senoferu, who, in the written records, had the name of a good king. The old rolls of papyrus of which De Prisse obtained possession in Thebes, and the value of which we shall have to notice hereafter, speak thus of the Pharaoh Senoferu:—'Then died the holiness of King Huni. Then was raised up the holiness of King Senoferu as a good king over the whole country. Then was Kakem appointed governor of the city.'

[9] Mr. Villiers Stuart (Plate LI. p. 282) gives an engraving of this group, which is very remarkable for the free style of the figures, in contrast with the later conventional forms of Egyptian sculpture. Rahotep's face is almost of a European cast. In Plate I. (p. 33) of the same work, we have the engraving of an original drawing, sketched for the first time, of the remarkable rock-hewn tomb of Nofre-Ma at Meidoum of the time of the Third Dynasty, with two human figures in relief composed for the most part of many *small cubes* standing out from the rock.—Ed.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH DYNASTIES.

ABOUT 3700 TO 3300 B.C.

To restore as completely as possible the names and order of the Pharaohs for the time of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, the data of the two Tables of Kings, of Abydus and Saqqarah, as well as the

Turin Papyrus.	*Manetho.*	*Table of Abydus.*	*Table of Saqqarah.*
	Fourth Dynasty.		
Years	Years		
1 . . 19	1 Soris . . 29		
2 . . 6	2 Suphis . 63	21 Khufuf	17 Khufu
		22 Ratatf	18 Ratatf
3 . . . . zaf . 6	3 Suphis . 66	23 Khafra	19 Khafra
4 . . 24	4 Mencheres . 63	24 Menkara	20 . . .
5 . . 24	5 Rathoises . 25		21 . . .
6 . . 23	6 Bicheres . 22		22 . . .
7 . . 8	7 Sebercheres 7	25 Shepseskaf	23 . . .
8 . . x			24 . . .
9 . . x	8 Thamphthis 9		
	Fifth Dynasty.		
10 . (2)8	1 Usercheres . 28	26 Uskaf	25 Userka
11 . . 4	2 Sephres . 13	27 Sahura	26 Sahura
12 . . 2		28 Keka	
13 . . . . ka . 7			
14 . . 12			
1 . . *x*	3 Nephercheres 20	29 Noferfra	27 Noferarkara
2 . . 7	4 Sisires. . 7		
3 . . *x*	5 Cheres . 20		28 Shepeskara
4 . . 11	6 Rathures . 44	30 Ranuser	29 Khanoferra
5 Menkahor 8	7 Mencheres . 9	31 Menkauhor	30 Menkahor
6 Tat . 28	8 Tatcheres . 44	32 Tatkara	31 Tatkara
7 Unas . 30	9 Onnos . . 33	33 Unas	32 Unas

surviving fragments of the Turin book of kings, must be compared with the lists of Manetho. By their aid we are enabled to regard the above list (p. 84) as a trustworthy record, approximating very closely to the truth.

The reader who takes the trouble to compare carefully with one another the names, succession, and numbers, will readily be convinced that all the four columns of the table come from one and the same original source. Nor can he fail to notice what errors have crept into the extracts from Manetho, and how grievously careless transcribers have disfigured the names and numbers of the genuine MS. But even in remote antiquity, uncertainty and doubt seem already to have prevailed as to the succession of kings in the olden time, since even the stone monuments differ as to their names and order. The enquiry is far from being closed, and it must be left for new discoveries to determine precisely and finally the succession and names of the old kings.

I. KHUFU OR CHEOPS.—According to the sure testimony of the tables of Abydus and Saqqarah, the successor of the good king Senoferu was Khufu. This is the king whom the writers of Greek antiquity have handed down to posterity sometimes as Cheops (Herodotus), sometimes as Chemmis or Chembes (Diodorus), while the epitomists of Manetho know him as Suphis, and Eratosthenes, in the Theban list of kings, gives the name as Saophis.[1]

Khufu.

[1] Respecting the forms *Shufu*, *Shafra*, &c., see the Notes on pp. 31 and 264.—ED.

With him begin the memorable traditions of Egyptian history, according to the accounts of the Greek and Roman authors, who without suspicion grafted the information of ancient times upon a modern stock.

No one who has had the happiness—whether from chance or purpose or in the way of his calling—to set foot on the black soil of Egypt, ever turns back on his homeward journey till his eyes have looked upon that wonder of antiquity, the threefold mass of the Pyramids on the steep edge of the desert, which is reached after an hour's ride over the long causeway from the village of Gizeh, which stands close upon the left bank of the Nile. The desert's boundless sea of yellow sand—whose billows are piled up around the gigantic mass of the Pyramids, deeply entombing the tomb itself, like a corpse long since deceased—surges hot and dry far down upon the green cultivated plain where the grains of sand and corn are intermingled. From the far distance are clearly seen the giant forms of the Pyramids, as if they were regularly crystallized mountains, which ever-creating Nature had called forth from the mother soil of rock, to lift themselves up towards the blue vault of heaven. And yet they are but tombs built by the hands of men, which, raised by King Khufu and two other Pharaohs of the same family and dynasty for their everlasting monuments, have been the admiration and astonishment alike of the ancient and modern world, as an incomparable work of power. Perfectly adjusted to the cardinal points of the horizon—the S. and N., the E. and W.—they differ in breadth and

height, as is shown by the measurements of Colonel Howard Vyse:[2]—

	Height.	Breadth at base.
1. Pyramid of Khufu:	450·75 feet.	746 feet (Eng.)
2. Pyramid of Khafra:	447·5 „	690·75 „
3. Pyramid of Menkara:	203 „	352·878 „

The construction of these enormous masses was long an almost insoluble enigma for experts in such work; but the younger generation, applying its enquiring spirit to the unknown solution, has succeeded in stripping off the outer shell, so as to find the kernel. According to their ancient usage and custom, the Egyptians—while they still sojourned in health and vigour in the light of the sun-god Ra, who was each day born in royal splendour in the East to bathe himself after his daily course in the sea of night in the West—were ever mindful to turn their looks to the region where the departing Ra took leave of life, where the door of the grave opened, where the body would one day rest well concealed, to rise again to a new existence after an appointed number

[2] The British Ordnance Survey, under Captains Wilson and Palmer, in 1868–9, determined the base of the Great Pyramid with great precision at 9,120 inches = 760 feet, which unquestionably represent 500 Egyptian cubits, or 750 Egyptian (and Greek) feet, of which 6,000 are equal to 1′ of a great circle of the earth, that is, to a geographical mile. The bases of the second and third pyramids were squares respectively of 700 and 350 Egyptian (or Greek) feet. See the invaluable *Notes on the Great Pyramid of Egypt and the Cubits used in its Design*, by the late Col. Sir Henry James, 2nd edit., 1869, in which also a few words of common sense dispose of a mass of nonsense about the Great Pyramid. Professor Piazzi Smyth's three volumes of *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid* contain details of the highest value, in spite of the false theory which lured the author to his laborious work.—Ed.

of long years; while the soul, though bound to the body, was free to leave and return to the grave each day in a living form.

In such a belief it was their custom betimes to dig their grave in the form of a deep shaft in the rock, and, as a superstructure to this 'eternal dwelling,' to raise the sacrificial chamber, sometimes only a hall, sometimes several apartments, and to adorn them richly with coloured writing and painted sculptures, as if it were meant for a house of pleasure and joy.[3] Not seldom did death advance with a quick step, and pitilessly snatch away the builder from life before his work was finished and the last hand had put the last stroke. In such a case the eye of the visitor finds pictures which the draughtsman's skilful hand had sketched in outline with a red crayon on the polished surface of the stone wall, but time had not been left for the painter to fill in the empty spaces of the picture with bright and varied colours. Frequently whole or half walls, often this or that portion of the pictures, show that the whole work still awaited its completion, when suddenly the speedy end of the builder put a quite unexpected limit and measure to the work. What, in the case of the tombs of the nobility, was a sad stoppage to the perfect completion of the design, must have appeared an enormous hindrance to the royal building of the Pyramids, when a Pharaoh departed from the light of day. Therefore he began the work from his accession. As soon as he mounted the throne, the sovereign gave orders to

[3] See the engraving on p. 49.

a nobleman, the master of all the buildings of his land, to prepare the work and quarry the stone. The kernel of the future edifice was raised on the limestone soil of the desert, in the form of a small pyramid built in steps, of which the carefully constructed and well-finished interior formed the king's eternal dwelling, with its stone sarcophagus on the ground. Let us suppose that this first building was finished while the Pharaoh still lived in the bright sunlight. A second covering was added, stone on stone, to the outside of the kernel; a third to this second; and to this even a fourth; and the mass of the gigantic building grew greater, the longer the king enjoyed existence. And then, at last, when it became almost impossible to extend the area of the pyramid further, a casing of hard stone, polished like glass, and fitted accurately into the angles of the steps, covered the vast mass of the king's sepulchre, presenting a gigantic triangle on each of its four faces.

More than seventy such pyramids once rose on the margin of the desert, each telling of a king, who had created it for himself, as at once his tomb and monument. Had not the greater number of these sepulchres of the Pharaohs been destroyed almost to the foundation, and had the names of the builders of those which still stand been accurately preserved, it would have been easy for the enquirer to prove and make clear by calculation, how the size of the pyramids was originally and of necessity in proportion to the length of the reigns of their respective builders.

The name 'pyramid'—first invented by the

ancients to designate the tombs of the Egyptian kings, and still used in geometry to this day—is of Greek origin. The Egyptians themselves denoted the pyramid—both in the sense of a sepulchre and of a figure in Solid Geometry—by a word which is read 'abumir;' while, on the other hand, the word 'pir-am-us,' in the ancient Egyptian language, is equivalent to the 'edge of the pyramid,' namely, the four edges extending from the apex of the pyramid to each corner of the quadrangular base.

The fact, however, which the ancients never knew, or which they have persistently neglected to mention, is that a special proper name was assigned to each of the pyramids to distinguish it from its neighbours. Thus the sepulchral monument of king Khufu bore the title of 'Khut,' i.e. 'the Lights,' ; and this word frequently appears as an addition to the royal name of Khufu. The stones, which the master's careful consideration chose for the building of 'the Lights,' were laboriously quarried out of the rock in three different places by the grievously oppressed workmen. The material—a spongy limestone without consistence—of which the inner kernel of the building was constructed, and which remained ever after hidden from sight, was found close at hand; for the soil of the desert on which the future building was raised yielded it in abundance from the deep excavations. The better sort of stone, chosen for the steps and the successive layers, was drawn upon rollers along the causeway (above half a mile long) which reached from the

mountain on the right of the river to the plateau of the pyramids. To the present day the traveller is amazed at the number of gigantic caverns which traverse the range of Mokattam in a long series from north to south, from Tourah to Massaarah. These are the names of two villages lying close to the river, inhabited by Arabs, who follow the laborious occupation, like the ancients thousands of years ago, of cutting the stone in the neighbouring quarries and bringing it to the river on bullock-carts or commodious tramways, and putting it on board the vessels which wait at the bank.

The name Tourah, well known to the Greeks in the form of Troja (the Egyptian Troy), is of very ancient origin. As soon as the kings began to pile up pyramids, the writings of that early time mention the district of Ta-ro-au, that is 'the mountain of the great quarry,' in which the busy population of stone-cutters hewed innumerable blocks out of the walls of rock. An official called 'mur' governed the place and people, and carefully executed the Pharaoh's orders.

The splendid covering of the pyramid of 'lights' was costly stone brought down the river from a great distance to its banks in the Memphian territory. On the southern border of Egypt, in close neighbourhood to the place called Suan (in Greek Syene, now Assouan), still stands, as then, the 'red mountain' (Tutesher), composed of a granite sprinkled with black and red, as hard as iron, and shining beautifully when polished. A stirring life always prevailed in the

quarries of the Red Mountain; for the hardness, brilliancy, and durability of the syenite—well fitted for buildings that were to last for ever—made the possession of this stone much desired; and the kings vied with one another in vain conceit for the fame of subduing, by the hands of men and the clever inventive genius of the master, the opposition of the hardest material which Nature had created. The traces of this labour and severe work are still left visible from those ancient times: here are seen the sharp strokes of the chisel, there the mining hole may be clearly distinguished; here we meet with the outline of a colossal statue, like a form in a mould, there the whole length of the fourth side of an obelisk still hangs in the rock, as if it had grown there and was waiting for the master to loosen it from its bed. A deep magic spell seems to lie on this dead world full of ancient life, which rises to the highest summit of humanity, and whose pulse beats in the inscriptions.

Yet it would be erroneous and contrary to the truth, to believe that those ancient times did not already recognize their wonderful works as marvels without compare. With words uttered of old in eloquent language, the innumerable inscriptions extol to us the wearisome care and trouble taken by the nobles to fulfil the desire of Pharaoh in cleaving the hard stone from the rock, and transporting the heavy burden to the river, and thence downwards to Lower Egypt. What Herodotus, the father of history, tells us as to the erection of the Pyramid of Cheops appears credible, in the highest sense of the word. Ten long

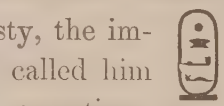
years passed away before the workmen had quarried the stone at the mountain of Troja, laid the foundation, and closed the dark tomb-chamber deep in the bowels of the rock. Twice ten years were afterwards necessary before the whole work was completed and Khufu could exult in its success.

The few monuments that remain of his time present king Khufu in a different light from that in which his character is drawn in the time of the Persian and Greek dominion. Khufu's reputation was then at a low ebb. Barbarous in manners and of a tyrannical nature, he forced the people (so went the tradition) to hard compulsory labour. He sacrilegiously closed the temples of the gods from an evil motive, fearing that prayer and sacrifices to the heavenly powers would shorten the time of the people for work. Hence, according to the same tradition, Khufu was grievously hated by his own subjects, who, long years after his death, avoided, if possible, uttering his name. On the other hand, the official testimony of inscriptions of the time of Khufu represents him as a brave, active ruler. The mountainous valleys of Sinai beheld the warriors of this king, who victoriously subdued in battle the children of the country. In witness of this, the rock-tablet in the Wady-Magharah extols king Khufu as the annihilator of his enemies. Many names of places and habitations along the river acknowledge him as a founder of towns in Egypt, as is also announced by the inscriptions in the chambers of the tombs.

Three small pyramids facing the east, in front

of Khufu's own gigantic building, formerly covered the bodies of the king's wives or children, and were consecrated to their rites for the dead. So far as the eye of the enquirer can penetrate into the dark depths of antiquity, and learn from the fragments covered with inscriptions which the great pyramids have preserved to us, so certainly does it appear established as a fact, that in old times from the days of the Fourth Dynasty the great cemetery of Gizeh was chosen for the burial, in its deep rocky cavities, of the dead bodies of the king's children and the nobles. Thus generations rest there in the sleep of death at the feet of their masters, to whom they sought to preserve, even after their departure from the joys of life, the loyalty of servants.

Ratatf followed Khufu in the kingdom. The Tables of Abydus and Saqqarah mention his name; otherwise we have no intelligence of him.

III. Khafra, Cephren, or Chabryes.—The Greeks knew nothing of Ratatf's existence, and made Khafra, the third prince of the same dynasty, the immediate successor of Khufu. They called him sometimes Cephren, or Kephren, sometimes Chabryes, and were of opinion that he was either the brother or the son of Khufu. Who can decide, when the stones are silent? His pyramid  , designated by the ancients 'the Great,' stands in close proximity to that of king Khufu. Although the language of the stones tells us little of Khafra, his name is nevertheless well preserved by the wonderful workmanship of his statues.

Khafra.

It was only a few years ago that out of the deep sand of the desert, which encircles the image of the Sphinx like an inundation, there emerged, to the astonishment of all, that building which is to this day a mystery to those who enquire into the age, origin, construction, and object of the whole work. Small passages, then spacious halls, then again dark side-rooms, built with huge, well-cut blocks of hard variegated stone from Suan and of shining yellow alabaster, fitted to a hair's breadth block to block, each alternate corner-stone being clamped into the adjacent wall, all smooth and well adjusted in straight lines and perfectly squared, but destitute of any mark or inscriptions;—the building appears a mysterious work of antiquity, when history had not yet been written. Who was the lord whose mouth pronounced the words, 'Let it be'? Who the master whose skilful mind conceived the plan of the building? Whence came the giant race of men who severed the ponderous masses of stone from the rock, cut them with sharp edges, and smoothed them; then brought them from the southern boundary down the stream to the edge of the sandy desert, and there fitted the blocks together in the place selected? Great and gigantic as was the work, so great and inexplicable remains the riddle of its existence. On the east side, the stone-covered space of ground showed, in a long hall, the shaft of a well, filled with clear sparkling water, into whose depths, in the olden time, for reasons to us unknown, a number of statues of King Khafra were rather thrown than let down with care.

The greater number of the king's statues had been destroyed by the violence of the fall, and the portraits of noble workmanship were dashed in pieces. Only one seemed to have braved the fall; for in this the figure of king Khafra in a sitting posture, of regal appearance, dignified in look and bearing, came out of the deep shaft of that well, preserved entire, and but little injured. A sparrow-hawk, hiding itself behind the Pharaoh's head, spreads out its wings in calm repose, as if to protect its royal master. The name and title of the king appears inscribed on the upper part of the base of the statue, close to his naked feet. The greenish stone, shining with a high polish, is a hard diorite, a material seldom chosen for the execution of a monument.

In saying that the discovery of the statues of king Khafra has proved an unparalleled addition to the history of the old empire, and that they must be esteemed the greatest treasure of antiquity, we have not yet nearly exhausted the advantages to be derived from king Khafra's stone image. As that wooden statue of an old Sheikh-el-Belled,[4] which was brought to light out of the tombs at Saqqarah, to the astonishment of the world;—as the various coloured statues of limestone, which came forth from the narrow 'Serdab' of the tombs as witnesses of ancient life, to greet the youthful world of modern times;—as every artistic production of those days, in picture, writing, or sculpture, bears the stamp of the highest

[4] The bust of the statue is shown in the woodcut at the beginning of this volume. The Arabic name given to it means 'village chief.'—ED.

perfection of art;—so the statue of Khafra also teaches us that in the beginning of history the works of art already redounded to the praise of their authors. Unacquainted with the sharpness of steel and the marvellous action of those instruments which in our day scarcely allow the artist to feel the trouble of rough work, that primitive race knew how to conquer the resistance of the hard stone, and to animate a lifeless mass with the spirit and expression of life. No master of modern times is capable of giving an answer to the question, how they managed to overcome the difficulties of the unyielding substance.

From West to East, almost in the same line with Khafra's great pyramid, lies the prodigious monster of the Sphinx, of colossal size, though half buried in the sand. The body of the lion is here strangely united with the countenance of a man, and the creature truly appears to be the Aboulhol, the 'father of terror,' as it is called in Arabic. In the times of the Greeks and Romans, when the traveller approached the site of the Pyramids and took his way to the mysterious Sphinx, no sea of sand barred his path, and the idol lay free and open before him. As if at rest, the lion stretched out his fore paws, between which a narrow path led to the temple at the breast of the monster; and a memorial stone, richly ornamented with sculpture and writing, preserved the memory of the gifts of honour made by the fourth Thutmes to the Sphinx. Greeks and Romans seldom left this consecrated spot without engraving on the rock, in their own language, a memorial of their visit. For

the body of the lion was of the living rock, but fashioned by the artist's hand to imitate more exactly the likeness which a sport of nature had formed. Where the hollows in the stone interrupted the rounding of the body, light masonry was introduced to fill in what was wanting in the form.

The hieroglyphs of the monument tell us, in flowing language and poetical terms, how on a beautiful day the Pharaoh went up to the Sphinx, to look at the heavenly face of his father. The words disappear towards the end, for time and the hand of man have erased what fell in conclusion from the poet's mouth. King Khafra was also named in it, but it seems hardly credible to conclude thence that Khafra first caused the lion to be sculptured. So far as we learn from another inscription, king Khufu had seen the monster, or, in other words, the statue existed even before his time, a work of the older Pharaohs. To the north of the Sphinx lay a temple of the goddess Isis; a second, dedicated to the god Osiris, was situated on the southern side. Finally, a third temple was consecrated to the Sphinx. The inscription on the stone speaks of these temples as follows:—

'He, the living Hor, king of the upper and the lower country, Khufu, he, the dispenser of life, found a sanctuary of the goddess Isis, the queen of the pyramid, beside the temple of the Sphinx, north-west from the temple and the city of Osiris, the lord of the abodes of the dead (*Usiri neb rosatu*). He built his pyramid near the temple of that goddess, and he built a pyramid for the king's daughter, Hontsen, near this temple.'

In another passage the inscription on the stone tells us:—

'He, the living Hor, king of the upper and the lower country, Khufu, caused the holy utensils, the pattern of which is shown on the surface of the monument, to be consecrated to his mother Isis, the mother of the god, who is Hathor, the ruler and mistress of the abode of the dead. He has established anew her divine worship, and has built for her the temple in stone, choosing for her the company of the heavenly inhabitants of her dwelling.'

Although the age of the stone does not extend back to the empire of the kings of Memphis, to which Khufu lent the highest glory of his name, yet the information it gives may be regarded as authentic testimony, and as concerns the translation of that inscription we are of the same opinion as De Rougé. In it the sacred language calls the Sphinx by the name 'Hu,' a word that certainly only denotes the man-headed lion, while as god the man-lion was called Hormakhu, a word meaning 'Hor on the horizon,' and which the Greek language translated by 'Harmachis,' and frequently also by 'Harmaïs.' As Lauth of Munich first discovered, an inscription on a monument in the collection of the Louvre furnishes a new and historically sure witness that Khufu, Khafra, and king Tatefra devoted themselves particularly to the worship of Isis, 'the Queen of the Pyramids,' and of her great neighbour Hormakhu. When not less than five-and-thirty centuries had flowed into the sea of time since the days of those Pharaohs, the remembrance of the names of the kings, the goddess, and the god, was still faithfully preserved, and holy men offered them incense. A certain Psametik, son of Uzahor, the son of Psametik, who was son of Uzahor, the son of Noferabra, is thus solemnly en-

titled on the monument: 'He was prophet of the god Tanen, prophet also of Isis, queen of the pyramids, prophet furthermore of king Khufu, prophet of king Khafra, prophet of the divine Tatefra, prophet of Hormakhu.' Such authentic testimony is of great value for the truthful portraiture of history, since it strikingly contradicts what Herodotus, the father of history, reported a hundred years after the origin of the stone—how the people of Egypt in his time refused even to mention by name the royal architect of the greatest pyramid, because the sound of it awoke the poison of hatred, and the remembrance was full of horror. Yet how was it possible that in the same age, only about a century earlier, priests honoured Khufu with divine worship, if curses instead of blessings attended his name? Herodotus, we venture to maintain, was here again involved in the erroneous delusion, that there was a kernel of truth underlying the chatter of the Egyptian interpreters.

We owe to M. de Rougé's noble work on the Empire and Court of the first six Dynasties, valuable notices concerning the family and worship of Khafra. Many fragments of antiquity, preserved in the cemetery of Memphis, inform us that his wife was named Merisankh. As a pure wife she appears in the holy worship of the wise Thut, the god Hermes of the Egyptians, to whom a celebrated temple was dedicated at Hermopolis, a city of Upper Egypt. Merisankh, during her life, was also piously devoted to other deities, and thus, in worshipping the gods, she obtained honour also for herself.

IV. MENKAURA, MENCHERES, or MYCERINUS.—After Khafra had gone home to the realm of the dead, where the king of the gods, Osiris, held the sceptre, king Men-kau-ra ascended the throne. He is the Mycerinus or Mencherinus, about whom the Greeks preserve the story that he erected the third pyramid as his own memorial of honour. It occupies the south-west corner of the pyramid-plain of Gizeh, and is designated in the language of the inscriptions Hir ('the high one'). When Colonel Howard Vyse found, in the middle of the building, the well-guarded entrance to the chamber of the dead, and entered the silent room 'of eternity,' his eye discerned, as the last trace of Menkaura's burial-place, the wooden cover of the coffin, and the stone sarcophagus, hewn out of a single block of hard stone, and beautifully ornamented outside in the style of a temple, such as was built by the master of the old empire. Sent to London as a valuable memorial of antiquity, ship and cargo sank to the bottom of the sea off Gibraltar; only the cover was saved by the lightness of the wood, and now, instead of lying under the sea, it rests well guarded in England's capital on the banks of the Thames. Long and dangerous was the way from ancient Memphis to the metropolis London, and we are therefore doubly attracted to what with pious intentions the hand of good men wrote of old on that wooden wreck of Menkaura's sarcophagus. The inscription runs thus:[5]—

Men-kaura.

'O Osiris, who hast become | king of Egypt | Menkaura | living for ever, | child of Olympus, | son of Urania, | heir of Kro-

[5] The thin vertical strokes, here and throughout the book, mark the lines of the original inscription.—ED.

nos ! | Over thee may she stretch herself | and cover thee, | thy divine mother, | Urania, | in her name | as mystery of heaven ! | May she grant | that thou shouldest become like God, | free from all evils,[6] | king Menkaura, | living for ever ! '

This 'swan's song,' sounded into the dark grave in honour of the dead, is of very ancient origin, for similar symbols and hieroglyphs adorn all the coffins of ancient times. The purport of the short song is full of meaning. Set free from its earthly covering, separated from the matter of the dead human body, the soul of the king goes to its home, hastening through the unbounded expanse of heaven, to unite itself for ever with God, free from all the sufferings of this earthly life.

According to ancient testimony from Greek sources, king Mencheres enjoyed the best reputation among the rulers who held the reins of government at that time. His rule was that of a mild just man, and as a pious king the sacred worship of the gods lay especially near his heart. After he had gone to his long home, the eloquent voice of the Greek legend reports, that the people of Egypt granted to their dead lord the honours of a god, and consecrated to him the ceremonies of divine worship; although it cannot be concealed that similar honours had been adjudged to other rulers before him. For the inscriptions of the time when the Pyramids were built mention priests and holy prophets who offered sacrifices to Cheops, Chabryes, and other rulers, and who were devoted to their worship after the 'lord of the

[6] The French edition has: 'and that thy enemies may be annihilated.'

world' left the light and descended to the depths of his grave. At all events one thing appears quite certain, that 'Mencheres the Pious' rendered homage to the devout belief of his age, and industriously studied the religious writings. The most holy book called Pir-em-heru, that is 'the daily going out,' which was usually buried with the dead as their guide in the world beyond, mentions this king in the sixty-fourth chapter ('gate'). After the writer had said what he had to say, he finishes the 'gate' with the words :—

'This gate was found in the city of Hermopolis, engraved on a block of alabaster and painted in blue colour, under the feet of this god. It was found in the time of king Mencheres, the deified, by the king's son Hortotef, when he undertook a journey to inspect the temples of Egypt. He brought the stone as a wonderful thing to the king, after he had well understood the contents full of mystery which were on it.'

V. SHEPSESKAF, is the name of the Pharaoh who ascended the throne of his fathers after Mencheres. The succession of this new king is certain, for all doubt on the subject is removed by the inscriptions on a tomb at Saqqarah, as M. de Rougé was the first to testify. The noble, for whom the tomb was constructed as his own monument, bore the name Patah-shepses. Living at the court of the Pharaohs, he was the hopeful favourite of the kings. First of all he appears as an adopted child of the pious Mencheres, for as the inscription says word for word :—

'King Mencheres placed him among the royal children in the palace of the king in the interior of the royal women's house.'

Soon after, as it appears, the good foster-father bade farewell to time, and king Shepseskaf ascended the throne, and placed the young page in his house, and at last in his royal favour gave him his own daughter's hand in marriage. For these are the words that follow :—

'And his Holiness gave him the eldest of his own daughters, the princess Maat-kha, to be his wife. And his Holiness preferred that she should dwell with him rather than with any other man.'

The son-in-law of the king might expect that Pharaoh in the fulness of his favour should call him to the highest pitch of honour, as in fact our monument again teaches us.

'He was esteemed by the king above all his servants. He became private secretary for every work that Pharaoh was pleased to execute. He charmed the heart of his master. His Holiness allowed to him to embrace his knees, and exempted him from the salutation of the ground.'

The last words are not without advantage to our knowledge of ancient usages at the court of the Pharaohs. When a servant of high or low degree approached his royal master, custom demanded that he should throw himself repeatedly in the dust and kiss the ground trodden by the proud foot of his master. Favourites alone received the great honour of only touching the king's knees in token of their submissive greeting.

The inscription on the tomb informs us besides of the succession of dignities and various offices with which Pharaoh honoured his servant. Like Joseph, he held the office of chief steward of all the store-

chambers; he directed the hard labour of the mines, and he was also prophet of the god Sokar and chief guardian of his sanctuary. The highest decoration among the dignities which he bore, was that of chief of the priesthood of the god Patah in the temple-town of Memphis.

The number of tombs which give us any further tidings of the Pharaoh Shepseskaf is but small. At the head of all his contemporaries, whose proper names recal that of the king, stands a prophet of king Cheops, by name Shepseskaf-ankh, that is 'Shepseskaf's life.' His family shows us the following pedigree:—

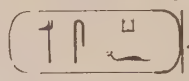
Shepseskaf-ankh (prophet of Khufu)
|
Imeri = Hathor-kau (his wife)

his daughters Mat and Mertestef — his eldest son Patah-nofer-baiu = Khenu (his wife)
|
Patah-nofer-sem (his eldest son).

The members of this house rested of old in the deep grave beneath the most beautiful sepulchral buildings that a kind fortune has preserved to us, and the last ruins of which our time has seen on the wide plain of the necropolis of Memphis. This Pharaoh also did not neglect to build his own grave; he gave his pyramid the name of Qebeh, , 'the cool.'[7]

[7] In the French edition '*la Fraîche* ou *la Rafraîchissante*.'

THE PHARAOHS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

USERCHERES heads the list of Pharaohs of the Fifth Dynasty, according to the sources used by Manetho; the same whom the table of Abydus gives, in the genuine orthography, USKAF  . About his time and reign we learn little from ancient testimony. In the inscriptions on the sepulchral buildings and monuments of his contemporaries, and of those who after the king's death still saw the bright light of the sun-god, Uskaf is praised as a Pharaoh at whose pyramid-tomb a pious priesthood performed divine worship. Although there is no longer any token to indicate the monument of king Uskaf on the wide plain of the Pyramids, the name of the building, Ab-setu, , 'the purest place,' has been faithfully preserved.

It is otherwise with the pyramid of the Pharaoh SAHURA, , who followed Uskaf in the kingdom. The escutcheon of this king, painted on the stone in red, was discovered on the blocks of a pyramid which rose northwards from the village of Abousir on the steep margin of the desert, and was entitled Kha-ba, , 'rising of souls.'

The escutcheons of this same king, as tokens of his renown and victories, are conspicuous on the smooth cliff in the 'Valley of Caverns' (Wady-Magharah), close to Sinai, which contains the mines out of which the ancients used to obtain precious stones.

The king stands there in the sculpture on the rock as vanquisher of foreign peoples. Beside this an inscription designates him as 'God, who strikes all peoples, and smites all countries with his arm.'

Long after Sahura lay sleeping in his pyramid, the pious remembrance of his name continued down to late times. When the line of the Ptolemies ruled in the Nile valley, a sanctuary still stood in ancient Memphis dedicated to Sahura, and priests performed their sacred office for the dead king. If we are not deceived, this Pharaoh was also a founder of cities, for De Rougé ascribes with reason that place, which is mentioned on the temple-walls in the sanctuary of Esneh as the 'town of Sahura' (Pa-sahura), to the old king of this name.

He was succeeded, according to the tablet of Saqqarah, by a Pharaoh of the name of NOFER-AR-KA-RA, , doubtless the same that Manetho transcribed NEPHERCHERES. He gave to his pyramid the name Ba, that is 'Soul,' . Many fragments of tombs in the cemetery of Memphis have faithfully preserved the memory of this king; above all the grave of his royal grandson, Urkhuru. Here again it was that master, of whom science was too early deprived, Count de Rougé, who first disclosed to us the intellectual importance of Urkhuru from the inscriptions on his tomb. He is called 'the royal scribe of the palace, the learned man, the master of writing, who serves as a light to all the writing in the house of Pharaoh.' He is moreover designated

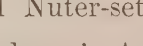
'master of writing for the petitions of the people, he who serves as a light to all the writing which relates to the administration, chief of the provision-chamber;' and, besides these titles, 'general of the forces composed of all the young men.' Another officer of this time, named on his tomb Pehenuka, had to discharge civil functions. He is called 'overseer of the treasure-houses, of the offerings, and provision-chambers,' then 'chief of all the works of Pharaoh, chief of the writings of his king, and councillor for every speech the king utters.' It is clear that Pehenuka performed the duties of secretary of state, in faithful service under his master.

Of the rulers who followed this king on the throne of Egypt, we will mention the thirtieth according to the table of Abydus. The ancient authorities name him Ra-n-user, transcribed Rathures by Manetho. He is the first Pharaoh of the kingdom, so far as the monuments inform us, who added to his name of honour on the royal shield the second shield with his own name, which reads briefly and simply, An, . King Ra-n-user An followed the old custom of all the princes before him. He built for his sepulchre the pyramid which was called Men-setu, 'the firmest of places,' . His name has been found, plainly traced in red, on the middle pyramid of Abousir, and, without doubt, Ra-n-user was laid to rest ages ago in its chamber. His name also appears again elsewhere. The rocks of the Wady-Magharah show, at a proud height, the king's tokens of honour and his escutcheon,

beside a sculptured tablet representing him as conqueror over the ancient people, for whom the valleys of Sinai served as a dwelling-place.

It is to the unequalled penetration with which De Rougé applied himself to set in a new light the mysterious legends of ancient times, that we owe our new knowledge of the existence of noble men who lived and worked at this time, and held high offices at the court of the Pharaohs. There still remains that most beautiful monument of the vast tomb of the noble Ti, who has perpetuated himself in his work to our own late age. In the necropolis of Memphis, to the north of the Serapeum, the pilgrim, who comes from the far distance to gaze at the wonders of Egypt, admires at the present day the rich abundance of paintings which everywhere adorn the walls of the sepulchre, and carry life into the chambers of death. The inscriptions which, carved in hieroglyphics and filled in with bright colours, give a clear significance to the pictures, enlarge in eloquent language on the high worth of the man, and represent him as the first court functionary. He served his master as scribe in all his residences, gave shape and form to Pharaoh's commands, was president of the royal writings, and conducted the king's works, to say nothing of the priestly dignities with which he was richly invested in the service of the gods, to his own honour and the welfare of his soul. It appears strange, as De Rougé's quick glance perceived, that in the grave of this noblest of men the name of his father is wanting, and no traces of his descent are

perceptible. If Ti was a man of low origin, he must certainly have performed something great, to appear worthy of being son-in-law to the king. For Pharaoh, so says the inscription, gave him his own daughter to wife. And Nofer-hotep (such was her name) was devoted to her husband in warm affection and gracious love.

The last three Pharaohs of this Fifth Dynasty had their place definitely fixed long before the discovery of the table of Abydus. The first, MEN-KAU-HOR, , the Mencheres of the lists, built the pyramid called Nuter-setu,  , which means 'the holiest of places.' A sculptured block, let into a wall of the Apis-tombs in the building of the Serapeum, and carried away in ancient times from the temple of that pyramid, has faithfully preserved for us the portrait of the king in bas-relief, accompanied by his name and titles. It is possible that one of the pyramids of Saqqarah, near the Serapeum, contained the king's own tomb. The rocky walls, also, in the valley of caves of the Sinaitic mountains, mention this prince several times by inscriptions and figures.

He was followed in the kingdom by TAT-KA-RA, whom the monuments surname ASSA,[8] . It is again the valley of caves, Wady-Magharah, that gives us information about Assa, testifying that new mines were excavated in the mountain when Assa sat on the throne of his fathers. The name 'beautiful' (nofer) was given to his pyramid, and

[8] The former is this king's more frequent name.—FRENCH EDITION.

in ancient days holy men, like Snoferu-nofer, Ra-ka-pu, and Khuhotep, consecrated their service to his memory. In the graves of Saqqarah, not less than in those of Gizeh, other nobles appear who in their time lived at Assa's court, and were charged with many offices of honour.

A record worthy of remembrance, and highly valuable as a work of genius from the most distant times, is preserved in an old manuscript on papyrus,[9] purporting to have been written by king Assa's son, Patah-hotep. The roll, without doubt the oldest manuscript that has been preserved in the whole world, contains wise instruction and admonition, praises the practice of virtue and good manners, and, in eloquent words, points out the path and way which leads a youth to honour, even to his happy end. The numerous precepts are introduced with the words—'This is the wisdom of the governor Patah-hotep in the time of king Assa; long may he live!' The king's son must have been very aged when he wrote this book, for he speaks of decrepit old age as one who felt it himself:—

'The two eyes,' thus writes the wise man, 'are drawn small, the ears are stopped up, and what was strong becomes continually weak. The mouth becomes silent, it speaks no clear word; the memory is dulled, it cannot recal past days; the bones refuse their service. The good has changed to bad. Even the taste is long since gone. In every way old age makes a man miserable. The nose is stopped without air.'

And so the venerable prince begins to propound—often with cheerful humour—his precepts of wise

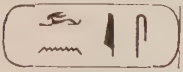
[9] Known in Egyptology as the Prisse Papyrus, from the name of a French archæologist who acquired this valuable document in Thebes, and afterwards presented it to the Library at Paris.

instruction to youth, as his own experience had taught him.

It does the heart good, and refreshes the mind, to follow that ancient discourse, which unfolds the deepest thoughts of the venerable prince in simple, childlike words, embracing the whole of human existence. Its teaching is noble as to the true greatness of man, for it is penetrated by the gentle spirit of human purity, which finds true greatness only in humility. Patah-hotep speaks thus:—

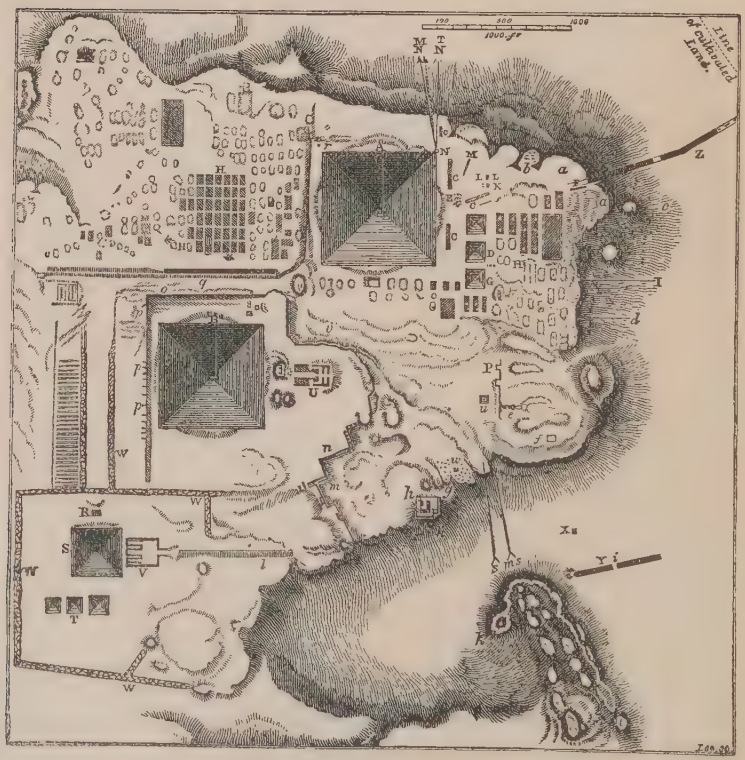
'And if thou hast become great, after thou hast been lowly, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty, so that thou hast become because of this the first in thy city; and if the people know thee on account of thy wealth and thou art become a mighty lord, let not thy heart be lifted up because of thy riches, for the author of them is God. Despise not thy neighbour who is as thou wast; but treat him as thy equal.'

Although the tombs of those ancient times give us abundant evidence of the spirit of genuine humanity that then already penetrated the moral world and laid its commands on man, yet no utterance of the old inscriptions is at all equal to the teaching of Patahhotep, and his plain, simple mode of speech. It is no priest, no prince, who, with wise understanding, addresses himself to the youth of his time; it is the *man*, who teaches what his own experience has taught himself. No more is he a gloomy philosopher. What is more true, what more convincing, than the exhortation of our wise master: 'Let thy countenance shine joyfully as long as thou livest; did a man ever leave the coffin after having once entered it?'

The last Pharaoh of the dynasty bore the name Unas  , or Onnos according to the Greek transcript. We know little more of him than that the proud building of his sepulchre was called Nofer-setu, , which means 'the most beautiful place.' We know exactly where he was laid. His is the gigantic tomb of well-hewn stone, like a truncated pyramid, that rises solitary out of the ground in the midst of the desert to the north of the pyramids of Dashour, known by the Arabs as 'Pharaoh's Seat' (Mastabat-el-Faraoun). We were present when Mariette-Bey opened anew the long-closed entrance of the building. In the passage which led to the heart of the gigantic body, there stood, written on a stone in the wall, a memorial invaluable to the enquirer—the name of Unas. Without doubt, therefore, it was he who erected the building for his own grave.

In the account of the Pharaohs of the old kingdom, preserved to us by Manetho, Unas ends the line of the Fifth Dynasty. In the Turin list of kings, in accordance with the former, the name of Unas forms the conclusion of the first section: the number of kings before him, and the duration of their rule on the throne of Mena, were exactly denoted. Although, by an unparalleled injury, what was written there by the priest's hand has been destroyed, yet from the remaining fragments thus much can be deciphered with certainty—that the first series of kings began with Mena and ended with Unas. It is important to

observe what the roll teaches; for it proves that the house of Mena extended in the long line of the old kings of Memphis down to Unas, and that after him there arose a new race, a second proud line of Pharaohs.



PLAN OF THE PYRAMIDS AND TOMBS OF GIZEH.

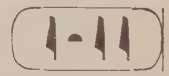
CHAPTER VIII.

THE PHARAOHS FROM THE SIXTH TO THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

M. DE ROUGÉ has acutely observed that, with the expiration of the Fifth Dynasty, the royal names in the history of the most ancient empire gradually cease to appear on the walls of the tombs in the necropolis of Gizeh, as well as in that of Saqqarah. It is no longer Memphis and its neighbourhood alone that furnish us with traces valuable for ancient history, but we must journey southward to take up the broken thread in the central part of the old Egyptian kingdom, and seek for the monuments of the successors to the Memphian dynasty. And what the monuments so clearly teach, the royal book of Turin places beyond doubt. As stated above, the book ends the line of the most ancient rulers of Memphis with king Unas; and a second and younger race ascends the throne, certainly connected with the former in consequence of the hereditary right of a daughter of one of the last kings.

The monuments, in agreement with the tables of kings of Abydus and Saqqarah, name the first prince of the Sixth Dynasty TETA . Manetho's Othoës,

who is designated in the book of kings as head of the Sixth Dynasty, is in the sound of the name sufficiently reconcilable with Teta to leave little doubt as to their identity. But we also have the proof of Teta's succession in another way. In the grave of Patah-Shepses, at the cemetery of Saqqarah, this nobleman's offices and dignities are enumerated at the usual length, and it is not forgotten that he performed the sacred service as prophet at the pyramids of king Unas and of the next king, Teta, who for the first time, according to the monuments, bore the title 'Son of the Sun' The pyramid of Teta was called Tat-setu, , 'the most lasting of places,' surely not without allusion to the king's own name.

It has been supposed that the name of USKARA, which the table of Abydus places after that of Teta, was the official title of a king ATI,  who likewise built a pyramid, called in the writings Bai-u 'the pyramid of the souls,' and further that this Ati was the real founder of the Sixth Dynasty, who reigned, perhaps, in Middle Egypt simultaneously with Teta, the last descendant of the ancient kings of Memphis. This is very probable, but it has yet to be proved.

One thing only is certain, that a nobleman named Una passed immediately from the service of king Ati to that of his successor, who bore the official name of MERI-RA that is 'friend of Ra (the Sun),' and the family name of PEPI

Pepi's name shines brightly amidst the darkness of the history of those old kings. The cliffs of Wady-Magharah, which contain so many memorials of the ancient Pharaohs of the race of Memphis, have no less perfectly preserved the memory of Pepi.

A great bas-relief, carved in the rock, informs us that, in the eighteenth year of king Pepi, a governor of the name of Abton visited the mines to inspect the progress of the work. In the tablet itself the king appears as the conqueror of his enemies, the foreign people, who in his time built their dwellings in the valley of caverns. In the midst of the numerous and massive ruins which cover the site of the now forgotten, but once far-famed, city of Tanis, in the Delta, a block of stone was found, covered with the names and titles of Pepi, a proof that the origin of the city extends back to the time of the ancient kingdom. At Denderah also, in the temple of Hathor, queen of heaven, the wall of a secret chamber gives us the information, that Pepi enlarged the sanctuary which king Khufu had founded before him. The valleys of Hammamat, the dark rocks near Assouan, the walls in the quarries of El-Kab, are richly covered with inscriptions which prove to us, what could scarcely have been guessed, that Pepi was powerful as sovereign in all the land, and was occupied with works, executed in hard stone, to transmit the glory of his name to posterity.

When Pepi, the lord of the double land, ruled over the Egyptian people, there lived a faithful servant of his lord, the noble Una, who when young began his career at the court of the Pharaohs under Teta, and

by his good service gained the favour of the king. When Teta had departed to the dreary realm of Osiris, Pepi became attached to the young man, placed him in a most confidential position in the king's house, and honoured him with the richest marks of favour; for 'he was dearer to the heart of the king than all the other nobles and all the other servants in the land.'[1] Among many other duties, he received his lord's order to quarry a sarcophagus hewn out of the limestone of the mountain of Troja, opposite to the old capital Memphis. Warriors and sailors accompanied Una to carry on the work. The sarcophagus, one single huge piece, was conveyed on one of the king's vessels, together with its cover, and many other hewn stones, destined for the building of the pyramid of king Pepi.

'Never,' says the text, 'was such a thing done by any servant: it was the most perfect pleasure for the heart of the king, for a greater satisfaction was never given to him.'

A rich reward fell to the lot of the nobleman; many honours were conferred on him, even to his admission into the women's house, where a secret charge was confided to him. Una had hitherto only executed works of peace, but from henceforth Pepi was to prove the value of his servant in warfare against troublesome enemies, the Amu and the Hirusha, peoples of the sandy desert to the east of Lower Egypt. As was fit before such a campaign, everything necessary for the expedition was prepared, and the people were assembled by tens of thousands

[1] The inscription of Una is translated by Dr. Birch, in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 1, foll.—Ed.

from the city of Elephantiné, in the south, to the marshes of the lower country. As the bands of warriors did not yet appear sufficient, levies from a foreign people, subject to the king and settled on the southern boundary of the kingdom, were added to the native Egyptians. The Negroes came from the land of Artet, from Zam and Amam, from Wawa-t, and from Kerau and Takam, and were instructed in the proper method of fighting by captains whom Pharaoh had placed over them.

When the army was at last ready, it took the field, and fell upon the land of the Hirusha.

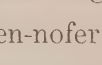
'And the warriors came and destroyed the land of the Hirusha:
and returned successfully home.
'And they took possession of the land of the Hirusha:
and returned successfully home.
'And they destroyed the fortresses:
and returned successfully home.
'And they cut down the fig-trees and the vines:
and returned successfully home.
'And they set fire to the dwellings of the enemy:
and returned successfully home.
'And they killed their chief men by tens of thousands:
and returned successfully home.

'And the warriors brought back a great number of prisoners alive, and on that account they were praised beyond measure by the king. And the king sent out Una five times to fight in the land of the Hirusha, and to put down the rebellion with his warriors. And he acted so that the king was in every way content.'

After these wars a new contest broke out, and Pharaoh sent his army against the land of Terehbah (?), 'to the north of the land of the Hirusha.' This time the army started in ships, reached the extreme limits of the country, and conquered the enemy. It is difficult at the present day to recognize the

country against which the Egyptians took the field. Since ships are mentioned, it does not seem preposterous to think of Syria, especially of that part of the country which lies to the north of the Arabian desert.[2]

Before concluding the eloquent account of Una's life on his monument, which also records the brilliant close of his earthly career under Pepi's successor, we may be permitted, in a few words, to quote what else the inscribed stones tell us about Pepi.

According to the ancient usage, Pharaoh ordered, during his existence in the light of the sun, the construction of the pyramid which was destined one day to conceal his mortal remains. A particular name was, according to custom, given to this pyramid, of the same sound and the same signification as that of the city of Memphis, Men-nofer,  , that is 'Good place' or 'Good station' (for travellers). As a founder of cities, his memory was immortalized by the designation of 'the City of Pepi,' founded by him on the territory of Middle Egypt. The names of noblemen who served him have been transmitted to the present day: many monuments at Saqqarah, Bersheh, Zauwit-el-Meitin, Sheikh Said, Abydus, and elsewhere, have faithfully preserved their memory.

[2] This account of the campaign of Una, at the command of king Pepi, is borrowed from a monument found in the grave of Una, in the cemetery of Memphis, and now in the collection of Boulaq. M. de Rougé first called attention to the special historical importance of this stone. The last-mentioned expedition in ships seems hardly to have been on the sea. I rather understand it of Lake Menzaleh, and of the part of Egypt situated on its shores, which was then occupied by an Arabian race, who may be regarded as the ancestors of the present Bedouins of the Isthmus of Suez.

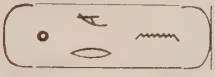
Among their number appears a certain Meri-ra-ankh, who is designated on the walls of his tomb Governor of Troja. We may assume with all certainty that this nobleman was entrusted with the direction of the laborious works in the quarries of the Mokattam mountains, and the more so, as his second dignity, that of 'President of the public works of the king,' affords a final confirmation of such a supposition. Another Egyptian, of noble descent, and with the long name Meri-ra Meri-patah-ankh, had to bear the honour and burthen of a similar dignity; while that of a third, the noble Pepi-nakht (whose grave is contained in the thoroughly ransacked necropolis of Abydus), was 'Governor of the city of the pyramids.' By this place is evidently meant the sanctuary before the king's grave, in which holy men offered sacrifices to the deceased Pharaoh, burnt incense before his images, and performed all other religious service according to prescription and custom. The same office of guardian, prophet, and priest of the pyramid of king Pepi, was filled by Pepi-na, on whom, after his master's death, devolved the honour of similar service at the pyramid of Mer-en-ra, the son and successor of Pepi.

In the reign of Pepi mention is made for the first time on the monuments of his day of a festival closely connected with the chronology of Egypt, called Hib set, 'the festival of the tail,' in memory of the end and the beginning of a new cycle of years. In the eighteenth year of Pepi's reign occurred the renewal, called Sop tep Hib set, 'of the first section of the feast

of the tail,' or of 'the cycle of thirty years.'[3] A learned German, Mr. Gensler, who has specially occupied himself with enquiries and calculations relating to the course of the stars in connection with the information of the monuments, appears to us to have established the right view, by his hypothesis, that this cycle of thirty vague years served to regulate, according to a fixed rule of numbers, the coincident points of the solar and lunar years, by means of a great period of eleven synodic months intercalated in the years 0, 4, 7, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 30 (= 0, the zero) of the cycle. The real nature of this cycle of the thirty years' festival (as the Greek translator in the Egyptian part of the celebrated Rosetta Stone renders the holy term Hib set) seems to us contained in the previously mentioned period of years which, as we said, were connected with the sun and moon. We shall hereafter endeavour to prove that single portions of this cycle are distinctly found on the monuments.

The Pharaoh Pepi, who, according to the Greek account, sat for 100 years on the throne of his fathers, married a lady not of royal descent, whose father was named Khua, and her mother Nekebet. After she had received the honours of an Egyptian queen, the distinction of a royal name was given to her, and she was called Meri-ra-ankh-nes. Her tomb, the last ruins of which were found in the necropolis at Abydus, gives us important information about the descendants

[3] These notices occur especially in the texts inscribed on the obelisks.—FRENCH EDITION.

of this great lady. She gave birth to two sons, of whom the elder was called Mer-en-ra, his brother Nofer-ka-ra. When Pepi died, as it appears, full of years, the firstborn took possession of the crown and kingdom. He figures in the Table of Abydus under the name of  MERENRA.

The long inscription from Una's grave, by the help of which we have thrown a ray of light into the dark antiquity of king Pepi's time, enlightens also the darkness which surrounds Mer-en-ra's history like a thick veil. After the death of the royal father Pepi, the owner of the tomb speedily rose, under the rule of his son, to the high dignity of 'Governor of Upper Egypt.' His government was bounded towards the south by the town of Elephantiné, and extended northward to the nome of Letopolis in the Lower Country. Una appears as a worthy servant of his king, on whom heaven had bestowed the noble gift of winning the favour of all men, up to his master on his proud throne, who did not hesitate graciously to entrust to him the entire care and administration of Upper Egypt. Una himself acknowledges the rarity of the favour, confessing in his own words that such a thing had never before happened in Upper Egypt.'[4]

As ancient usage and custom demanded, Mer-en-ra,

[4] It may, however, be observed that the constant recurrence of this phrase in the inscriptions marks it as a sort of *formula*, used to magnify the importance of the facts recorded. So also in the Assyrian records the conquest of tribes 'never known before' is boasted even of the same tribes by successive kings.—ED.

when he had ascended the throne, was at once mindful of the 'eternal dwelling' which after death should receive his royal corpse, well hidden in the secure coffin and the dark chamber of the grave. Una immediately received the command to prepare everything for the work, and to quarry the hardest stone from the southernmost boundary of Egypt.

'His Holiness,' so speaks Una himself, 'sent me to the country of Abhat,[5] to bring back a sarcophagus with its cover, also a small pyramid and a statue of the king Mer-en-ra, whose pyramid is called Kha-nofer ('the beautiful rising'). And his Holiness sent me to the city of Elephantiné to bring back a holy shrine with its base of hard granite, and the doorposts and cornices of the same granite, and also to bring back the granite posts and thresholds for the temple opposite to the pyramid Kha-nofer, of king Mer-en-ra. The number of ships destined for the complete transport of all these stones consisted of six broad vessels, three tow-boats, three rafts, and one ship manned with warriors.'

It seems that these vessels were constructed in the south of Egypt by the hand of skilful people.

'For never had it happened,' thus speaks the mouth of Una, 'that the inhabitants of Abhat, or of Elephantiné, had constructed a vessel for warriors in the time of the old kings who reigned before.'

Scarcely had he executed the orders of Pharaoh, when a new mission awaited Una, who, as governor, received the command to cut blocks of alabaster and bring them to his lord. He speaks of this as follows:—

[5] This country, which is mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions, can hardly be sought anywhere else than in the immediate neighbourhood of the southern frontier of Egypt. We shall again have the opportunity of returning to the subject of this country and its inhabitants in treating of the reign of the third Amenhotep.

'His Holiness sent me to the neighbourhood of the gold town (Ha-nub),[6] to fetch a large table of alabaster. I caused this table to be extracted for him in seventeen days.

For the building of the royal pyramid, which bore the name of Kha-nofer, 'the beautiful rising,'[7] they had meanwhile hewn out enormous masses of hard stone in the quarries behind Assouan at the border of the country, and were diligently occupied in sending the gigantic load down the river. New care and new work for the poor people! Great rafts were constructed, sixty cubits in length and thirty in breadth.[8]

As the river was found to have fallen so low in the advanced summer season that it was impossible to make use of the long broad rafts, a new work was made for the governor, namely, to build smaller rafts in all haste. The wood for this purpose had to be felled in the neighbouring country inhabited by the

[6] This region designates the quarries of alabaster, in the neighbourhood of the present town of Siout, on the right bank of the Nile. At the present day a place quite close to these quarries is called Benoub, 'the gold town,' with the surname El-Hammâm.

[7] It is worthy of notice that the designation of this pyramid is found later as the name of a town in the neighbourhood of Memphis, or perhaps of Memphis itself.

[8] As the old Egyptian cubit was equal to 0·525 mètre (20·67 inches), the rafts were 31·5 mètres (103½ feet) long, 15·75 mètres (51¾ feet) broad, and contained a superficies of 496 square mètres (= 5,356 square feet). [The measure here given (= 20·66966 inches) is that of the *royal cubit*, which Sir Henry James determines as 20·699 (practically 20·7) inches. The *common cubit*, used in the construction of the pyramids, was equal to 18·2415 (nearly 18¼) inches, the excess above 18 inches representing the proportionate excess of the Egyptian and Greek cubit and foot over our own.—ED.]

Negroes. This is related by Una in the following words:—

'His Holiness sent me to cut down four forests in the South, in order to build three large vessels and four towing vessels out of the acacia wood in the country of Wawa-t. And behold the officials of Araret, Aam, and Mata, caused the wood to be cut down for this purpose. I executed all this in the space of a year. As soon as the waters rose, I loaded the rafts with immense pieces of granite for the pyramid Kha-nofer of the king Mer-en-ra.'

This narrative of the life and actions of a single man among the contemporaries of the kings Teta, Pepi, and Mer-en-ra, exhausts all that we are permitted to know of their history, and we must search anew amidst the decay and ruins of days long gone by, in order to fill up, where possible, the countless gaps in our fragmentary information.

After his brother's death NOFER-KA-RA followed in the kingdom. The name of his pyramid is also known to us. It was called Men-ankh, , 'the station of life.' This same king is named in an inscription on the rocky walls of the cave valley of Wady-Magharah, in which an officer mentions him in the second year of his reign. The tombs also in Middle Egypt frequently mention noblemen, the servants of Pharaoh, whom the favour of the king had distinguished by honours and offices. We will only notice Beba, on account of his peculiar position as governor of the city of Pepi, the new royal residence founded by Pepi, of which the name in the course of time completely disappeared, having probably been exchanged for a new appellation.

Egyptian history after Nofer-ka-ra is involved in deep darkness, which conceals even the slightest vestiges of the existence of kings whose mere names have been preserved to us on the walls of Abydus and Saqqarah, names without deeds, sound without substance, just like the inscriptions on the tombs of insignificant men unknown to fame. Unless we are greatly mistaken, all this suggests the picture of a state split up into petty kingdoms, afflicted with civil wars and royal murders, among whose princes or governors of nomes (Haq) no deliverer arose, able with a bold arm to strike down the rebels and seize and hold with firm hand the fallen reins of the reunited monarchy. The creaking vessel of the state continually approached nearer to destruction, until it again found a powerful master, who after severe storms once more brought it back into the safe harbour of quiet and order. Such a one shines forth to us, according to the monuments, in king Ra-neb-taui Mentu-hotep, a scion of the Eleventh Dynasty, and a vigorous offspring of that time of conflict, of whom we have presently to speak.

A clear trace of the difficult times which the empire had to pass through for long years (a fact surely confirmed by the complete silence of the monuments, which generally tell us so much) is shown in the tradition which is connected with the fabulous figure of the beautiful queen Nitocris. The name of this lady, celebrated by Herodotus, the father of history, is attested by the remains which have been preserved of the fragmentary old Book of the Kings

at Turin, where NIT-AKER , 'the perfect Nit,' takes her place in the list of the Pharaohs of the Sixth Dynasty before Nofer-ka, Nefrus, and Ra-ab. Manetho also mentions at the end of this dynasty a queen Nitocris, who, according to him, reigned twelve years, 'the noblest and most beautiful woman of her time, fair in colour (ξανθή), and the builder of the third pyramid.'

According to the narrative of Herodotus, the king of Egypt, brother of the fair Nitocris, was killed by conspirators, who however gave the kingdom to her. She proceeded with subtlety to avenge the death of her beloved brother, for she constructed a vast underground building, and, on the pretext of its inauguration, she invited the principal authors of the murder to a joyful feast. During the repast the river was let into the chamber through a hidden channel, so that the whole party of banqueters were drowned. But after she had accomplished this, she plunged into a chamber filled with ashes, and killed herself, to escape the vengeance of the Egyptians.

It is difficult to recognize the historical foundation underlying this tradition; but it may serve to prove what we have been saying, that about the time of queen Nitocris murder and intestine violence prevailed in the kingdom—stirred up by the deadly rivalry of those who were competitors for the throne.

According to Manetho, in the extracts from his great Book of the Kings, Nitocris was the builder of the third pyramid, the same, therefore, which king

Menkara the Pious, more than a thousand years before Nitocris, had prepared for his eternal resting-place. Such a contradiction can only be explained, if the Manethonian tradition is worthy of belief, by the following considerations with regard to the construction of the third pyramid.

As is proved by the exact investigations of Perring, the skilful enquirer in the province of pyramid building, the third pyramid was altered and enlarged in later times. According to De Rougé, who follows Bunsen and Lepsius: 'Queen Nitocris took possession of the pyramid of Menkara, left the sarcophagus of the king in a lower chamber, and placed her own in the chamber before it, if one may judge from the fragments of blue basalt which were found there. She doubled the dimensions of the monument, by giving it that costly ornamental casing of polished granite, which in later times gave occasion to the inventive Greek narrator for the legend of Rhodopis, the courtesan, who reduced her friends to beggary in order to gain immense sums for building the pyramid.' [9]

[9] Mr. Villiers Stuart gives some new and interesting information respecting the tombs of the Sixth Dynasty in the mountains east of Kasr-el-Syad, about 70 miles below Thebes (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 305, foll.), and at Gebel Aboudfaida, lower down the river (p. 335), the latter containing the tombs of servants of king Nofer-kara. From the former Mr. Stuart gives engravings of portraits of an Egyptian chief and his daughter (Plate XXXVII.), of the princess Am-ua-te and her husband (Plate XXXVIII.), besides other subjects (Plate XXXVI.)—ED.

DYNASTIES VII—XI.

Instead of undertaking the fruitless labour of endeavouring to reconstruct the Dynasties of Manetho, from the Seventh to the Eleventh, we prefer to have recourse to the monumental succession, as it is authentically and completely represented in the Table of Kings at Abydus. This enumerates the names of twenty sovereigns, who correspond with the unnamed Pharaohs filling up five complete dynasties, according to the epitome of the work of Manetho. The number of the same kings was twice as great according to the Turin Book of Kings, if indeed the computation from the existing fragments is well founded. According to this book, the number of Pharaohs immediately preceding the Twelfth Dynasty was six. These again were preceded by a series of seventeen or eighteen kings. From Nitocris down to the first of these eighteen kings, there was room on the papyrus for the names of about ten kings. We have, therefore, a total of 38, or, in round numbers, 40 kings, to make up the five dynasties of Manetho. But, for our part, we content ourselves with those 20 on the wall of the temple of Abydus, who most probably belonged to the true race of old kings, and the order of whose names is as follows :—

39. King Mer-en-ra, with the additional name Zaf-em-saf.
40. „ Nuter-ka-ra.
41. „ Men-ka-ra.
42. „ Nofer-ka-ra.
43. „ Nofer-ka-ra, named Nebi.
44. „ Tat-ka-ra, „ Shema.
45. „ Nofer-ka-ra, „ Khontu.
46. „ Men-en-hor.
47. „ Senofer-ka.

48. King Ra-n-ka.
49. „ Nofer-ka-ra, named Terel.
50. „ Nofer-ka-hor.
51. „ Nofer-ka-ra, „ Pepi-seneb.
52. „ Nofer-ka-ra, „ Annu.
53. „ . . . kau-ra.
54. „ Nofer-kau-ra.
55. „ Nofer-kau-hor.
56. „ Nofer-ar-ka-ra.
57. „ Neb-kher-ra (Mentu-hotep).
58. „ S-ankh-ka-ra.

The reader will not fail to observe that several of these Pharaohs bear a double name (for example, the 39th, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 49th, 51st, and the 52nd), the second name being evidently that of the king before he ascended the throne.

We must pause at the 57th king of the series; for with NEB-KHER-RA, who was also called MENTU-HOTEP, like one of his ancestors (his name on the monuments is RA-NEB-TAUI), the long silence of the stones begins to break, and the mouth of the monuments to sing, and tell us long-forgotten tales of the olden time.

The race of kings, out of which the commanding figure of king Mentu-hotep emerged for the salvation of the reunited kingdom, was of Theban origin. The feeble ancestors of this race bore alternately the names of Nentef (or Anentef) and Mentu-hotep. They had set up their royal seat in the future metropolis of Thebes, and their tombs (plain simple pyramids built of brickwork) lay at the foot of the 'west mountain'

of the Theban necropolis. Here a few ruins of ancient origin show the names of the kings.[1] Here too it was that, more than twenty years ago, some Arabs seeking for treasure brought to light two very simple coffins of these Pharaohs, not knowing what a treasure they had discovered. In that part of the necropolis, which is now called by the inhabitants Assaseef, these coffins were discovered scarcely hidden under loose heaps of stones and sand, one of them containing the embalmed body of the king, his head adorned with a regal circlet. The cover of the chest was richly gilt, and the hieroglyphics which adorned the middle band presently revealed the name of the Pharaoh Anentef, in the royal escutcheon. In the year 1854, when I first resided on the banks of the Nile, I had the unexpected good fortune to discover, in the lumber-room of the house of the Greek consul, the coffin of a second Anentef, who was remarkably distinguished from the first by his title of 'the Great.' This coffin is now preserved in the Louvre, a precious and worthy relic of the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs. The remaining traces of this king's tomb have been discovered by Mariette-Bey under the name of Drah-abou-'l-neggah at Thebes. In the interior of a brick pyramid is found a simple chamber with a memorial-stone dated in the 50th year of the reign of king Anentef 'ao (i.e. 'the Great'), the inscription and paintings on which have been fully published by Dr. Birch.[2] The lower part of the king's

[1] Respecting this series of tombs, and the evidence they furnish of the connection between the Eleventh, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Theban Dynasties, see Chap. XII. pp. 283, 314.—Ed.

[2] *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv., 1875, pp. 172, foll.

image is well preserved. At his feet stand four pet dogs, bearing the following names: (1) Behekoa, surnamed Mahet, (2) Abaqer, (3) Pehetes, surnamed Kemu, (4) Teqal, surnamed Uhat-Khenfet.

Of the Mentu-hotep who bore the royal name Raneb-taui, 'Son of the lord of the country,' a memorial is preserved on the black rocks of the island of Konosso, close to the lovely Osiris-island of Philæ, above the First Cataract. A bas-relief chiselled in the hard stone exhibits the Pharaoh as the conqueror of thirteen foreign nations, and as the devoted servant of the primeval generator, Khem, the celebrated god of Coptos, whom the Greeks identified with their Pan.

In those times the place of this name (properly called Qobt in the Egyptian tongue) was of high renown. Standing on the right bank of the Nile, at about the spot where the valley of Hammamat opens out towards the west, and allows the traveller, after a painful journey of eight days over the desert, to enjoy the sight of the green fields and the stream of the Nile, this town with its haven served as a mart for many precious wares. In the valley of Hammamat, a mountainous district, with many devious roads, there lay hidden a valuable stone serviceable alike for building, and for the work which the hand of the artist knew how to fashion out of the hard material. Here also the toiling people descended to the mines to excavate gold and silver ore. Here also, finally, the merchant took his journey from the coast lands of the Red Sea far to the south, returning home to Egypt's green plains after a long pilgrimage, richly laden with

treasures and much-desired wares. And each wanderer who passed through the valley failed not to utter his prayers to 'the protecting lord of the mountain,' the god Khem of Coptos, or to perpetuate his reverence for the god in sculpture and hieroglyphics on the cliffs of the rocks 'for everlasting ages.' The mass of dedicatory inscriptions, due to pious custom and ancient manners, is almost numberless, and of the greatest use to us moderns, because they confirm what we have now stated.

Mentu-hotep also, whom we mentioned above, appears immortalized on the cliff in the valley of rocks, together with his mother Ama. He had, so the inscription clearly tells us, sunk a deep well, 10 cubits in diameter, in the dry, waterless desert, in order to provide cool water for the refreshment of all pilgrims with their beasts of burthen, and for all the men who were commanded by the king to quarry stone in this hot valley.

Another inscription of the 15th of Paophi, in the second year of the reign of our Mentu-hotep, mentions first of all 'the god Khem, the lord of the inhabitants of this desert,' and afterwards does homage to other divinities; and then goes on to say how wonderfully they had succeeded in transporting some gigantic stones to the Nile, to serve for the future habitation of the royal corpse. A high functionary set over all such works for Pharaoh, by name Amenemhat, received an express order to transport the heavy load of the sarcophagus and its cover from the mountain to the eternal resting-place of his lord. The way was

long, and the labour of the work heavy, for the enormous mass of hewn stone measured in length eight cubits, whilst its dimensions in breadth and height were four and two cubits. After rich offerings first made to the gods, it required 3,000 strong men to move the gigantic burthen of the stone from its place, and to roll it down the valley to the Nile.[3]

We have less information about the second Mentuhotep, whose pyramid bore the name of Khu-setu, , 'the most shining of places.' A gravestone found in the fully explored cemetery of Abydus commemorates the priest who offered sacrifices for the dead to the deceased king at the pyramid.

This list of kings ends with SANKH-KA-RA, , the fifty-eighth in the long list of Abydus. The rocky valley of Hammamat commemorates him in an inscription of the highest value. As we have said, a road led from Coptos through the waterless desert to the coast of the Red Sea, much frequented by merchants, who hazarded their lives for the sake of gain, and, after painful wanderings over lonely roads, trusted themselves to frail barks to steer southward to the furthest coasts, and to bring from the land of Punt precious wares, especially costly and

[3] According to Mr. Villiers Stuart, we must now carry back the origin of obelisks to the Eleventh Dynasty. He put together the fragments of two obelisks, dug out at Drah-abou-'l-neggah, near the grave of queen Aah-hotep (see below, p. 289), bearing the name of an Entef. One of them has the inscription: 'NUB-KAFER-RA, perfect of god, made for himself splendid temples.' (*Nile Gleanings*, Plate XXXIII., pp. 273, 274.)—ED.

fragrant spices, to their homes and the temples of the gods.

Under the name of Punt, the ancient inhabitants of Kemi understood a distant land, washed by the great sea, full of valleys and hills, abounding in ebony and other choice woods, in frankincense, balsam, precious metals, and costly stones; rich also in beasts, for there were in it giraffes, hunting leopards, panthers, dog-headed apes, and long-tailed monkeys.[4] Birds of strange plumage rocked themselves on the branches of wonderful trees, especially the frankincense tree and the cocoa-palm. Such was the Ophir of the Egyptians, without doubt the present coast of the land of Somauli opposite to Arabia, but separated from it by the sea.

According to an old obscure tradition, the land of Punt was the original abode of the gods. From Punt the celestial beings had travelled to the Nile valley; at their head Amon, Horus, Hathor. The coast land, washed by the Red Sea as far as Punt, was sanctified by the passage of the gods, and its name, 'the land of the gods' (Ta-nuter), shows of itself a trace of the tradition. Amon is called Haq, that is, 'King' of Punt; Hathor, in the same sense, 'Queen and ruler of Punt;' while Hor was honoured as 'the holy morning star which rises to the west of the land of Punt.' Peculiar to that land is the idol Bes, the oldest form of the deity in the land of Punt, who

[4] In old Egyptian, Kaf or Kafi, a remarkable word, as it is clearly recognized in the Hebrew Kof, in Sanscrit Kapi, in Greek Kepos, Kebos, in Latin Cepus.

in his many wanderings gained a manifold footing not only in Egypt, but in Arabia and in other lands of Asia, even as far as the islands of the Greeks. The misshapen Bes, with apish countenance, is no other than the beneficent Dionysus, who, in his progress through the world, dispensed to the nations with bounteous hand mild manners, peace, and cheerfulness.

The first voyage to Ophir and Punt took place under Sankh-ka-ra. According to the words of the rock inscription, everything needful was wisely prepared for the expedition, for which Pharaoh chose as leader and guide the noble Hannu, who gives us the following account of his voyage :—

'I was sent to conduct ships to the land of Punt, to fetch for Pharaoh sweet-smelling spices, which the princes of the red land collect out of fear and dread, such as he inspires in all nations. And I started from the city of Coptos.—And his Holiness gave the command that the armed men, who were to accompany me, should be from the south-country of the Thebaïd.'

After a destroyed passage of the inscription, of considerable length, of which, however, enough has been preserved to show us that the narration went on to state that the armed force was sent with the expedition to protect and defend it against the enemy, and that officers of the king, as well as stonecutters and other workpeople, accompanied it, Hannu continues :—

'And I set out thence with an army of 3,000 men, and passed through "the red hamlet," and through a cultivated country. I had skins and poles prepared to carry the vessels of water, twenty in number. And of people one carried a load daily [*lacuna*], . . . and another placed the load on him. And I had a reservoir of twelve perches dug in a wood, and two reservoirs at a place called Atahet, one of a perch and twenty cubits, and the other of a perch

and thirty cubits. And I made another at Ateb, of ten cubits by ten on each side, to contain water of a cubit in depth. Then I arrived at the port Seba (?), and I had ships of burthen built to bring back products of all kinds. And I offered a great sacrifice of oxen, cows, and goats. And when I returned from Seba (?), I had executed the king's command, for I brought him back all kinds of products which I had met with in the ports of the Holy Land. And I came back by the road of Uak and Rohan, and brought with me precious stones for the statues of the temples. But such a thing never happened since there were kings; nor was the like of it ever done by any blood relations who were sent to these places since the time (of the reign) of the Sun-god Ra. And I acted thus for the king on account of the great favour which he entertained for me.'

M. Chabas, who first laid open to our understanding this important inscription and its contents, accompanied his translation by excellent remarks on the direction of the desert road from Coptos to the Red Sea. He shows convincingly that already in those remote times the ancient Egyptians had opened a road to establish a communication with the land of Punt, and to import its products—rare and valuable wares—into the Nile valley.

In his account of the journey Hannu speaks of five principal stations at which the wanderer halted, and man and beast (then probably the ass, the only beast of burthen proved to have been used in those times) strengthened themselves for their further progress by enjoying the fresh drinking water. This is also the same road that, in the time of the Ptolemies and Romans, led from Coptos in an easterly direction to the harbour of Leucos Limen (now Qossier) on the Red Sea; the great highway and commercial thoroughfare of merchants of all countries, who traded in the

wonderful products of Arabia and India; the bridge of the nations, which of old united Asia and Europe.

Although, guided by the latest discoveries, we can no longer recognize exclusively in 'Punt,' and in the oft-named 'Holy Land,' a designation of the south and west coasts of Arabia proper, yet nothing is more probable than that as early as the reign of king Sankh-ka-ra, five-and-twenty centuries before the commencement of our era, the Egyptians possessed a knowledge of the coasts of Yemen and Hadramaut, which lay on the opposite side of the sea, in sight of the mountainous incense-bearing country of Punt and the Holy Land. In these regions, as it appears to us, is to be found that mysterious country which, in the ages before all history, sent forth the migratory Cushite races, like swarms of locusts, from Arabia across the sea, to set foot on the highly favoured shores of Punt and the 'Holy Land,' and to continue their wanderings into the interior in the direction of the West and North.[5]

[5] In the French Edition (pp. 125–6), Dr. Brugsch cites the mention by Diodorus Siculus (v. 41), among the islands of the Southern Ocean, of one opposite the coast of Arabia Felix, called the Sacred Island; adding, 'Notwithstanding the difficulty that has been found in fixing the geographical position of this island, which should probably be regarded as a part of the coast of Arabia Felix, it is at all events incontestable that the description of Diodorus, with regard to the products of the Divine Island and the worship of the deities, applies wonderfully to the indications of the Egyptian texts about the country of Punt. The name of the island, "divine," at once recals the name of *nuter ta*, "the divine land," which the inscriptions agree in giving to that country to which the Egyptians referred the origin of their religious worship.' Only, in Diodorus, the name of the island is not *divine* (θεία), but *sacred* (ἱερά).—ED.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

The Twelfth Dynasty according to the Monuments.

Succession	Duration of reign			Total duration of reign			According to Manetho	
	Yrs.	Mths.	Dys.	Yrs.	Mths.	Dys		Yrs.
1. Amenemhat I. alone	20	0	0	30	0	0	1. Ammenemes	16
with Usurtasen I.	10	0	0					
2. Usurtasen I. alone .	32	0	0	45	0	0	2. Sesonchosis	46
with AmenemhatII.	3	0	0					
3. AmenemhatII. alone	29	0	0	38	0	0	3. Ammanemes	38
with Usurtasen II.	6	0	0					
4. Usurtasen II. .	13	0	0	19	0	0	4. Sesostris .	48
5. Usurtasen III. .	26	0	0	26	0	0	5. Lachares .	?
6. Amenemhat III. .	42	0	0	42	0	0	6. Ameres .	8
7. Amenemhat IV. .	9	3	17	9	0	0	7. Amenemes .	8
8. Sebek-nofru-ra .	3	10	24	4	0	0	8. Skemiophris	4
				213	1	17	Total duration	168

In the Book of Kings by Manetho, the Egyptian priest, the princes of the first Eleven Dynasties formed the first part of the ancient Egyptian history, which comprehended three-and-twenty centuries,[1] or the time of the Old Kingdom. The second part of the lost

[1] This is distinctly stated, whether by Manetho or his epitomist, in a remark at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty: 'Thus far Manetho brought his First Volume, altogether 192 kings, 2,300 years, 70 days.'—Ed.

book treated of the successors of those old kings, consisting of eight dynasties down to the end of the Nineteenth. The total duration of their rule is said to have extended over twenty-one centuries and twenty years, or 2,120 years.

The foregoing Table, constructed on the foundation of the monuments, contains, besides the names, the true sequence, and the length of each reign, of the illustrious kings of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Even a superficial examination of this Table proves that the old Egyptians used to ascribe to each Pharaoh the full number of the years of his reign, without regard to the simultaneous reigns of two princes (father and son), a fact proved by several dates on the monuments of the first four kings. The total duration of the Twelfth Dynasty, which a remnant of the Turin Book of Kings gives as 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days, must necessarily be diminished, since the double reigns were not allowed for in reckoning up this sum.

From this particular case the reader will be able to form some idea of the kind of difficulties with which science has to contend at every step in order to compose an accurate picture of the succession and dates of the old Egyptian reigns. The ancient custom, according to which the Pharaohs, towards the end of their reigns, called their sons to the thrones as joint kings, and the fact that the latter, after their father's death, reckoned the years of their reign from the epoch of the united sovereignty, without expressly mentioning this circumstance on the inscriptions—this old usage places

such difficulties and doubts in the way of researches thousands of years after the events as to drive one to downright despair of putting together a consistent historical chronology of the Egyptian Kingdom.

Manetho states that the princes of this dynasty were of Theban origin. This is more than merely probable, since the race of the Anentefs and Mentuhoteps have left behind them most precious memorials in that metropolis of the highest antiquity. The sanctuary of the great temple of Amon at Karnak, whose ruins present to us walls, columns (of the so-called proto-Doric order), and tablets covered with the names of the kings of this house, was enlarged from these times of its foundation to the grandeur of an imperial edifice, whose stone walls reveal to us the history of the Theban kings.[2] And as the bright sun shines out of the shades of night, and suddenly illumines with its rays what lay in deep darkness, so the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty may be compared to a stream of light which is poured upon the forgotten world of olden times, to awaken to new life by its brightness more than forty centuries before our time; though the twilight of all historical remembrance does but receive this light from the last ruins of those ages which lie scattered on the surface of the modern world.

The high distinction of this age does not rest only on the greatness of the kings, founded as it was on the wisdom of their government at home and the glory of their victories abroad. Art also, with its efforts to attain beauty and noble forms, was cherished by these

[2] A plan of this temple is given in Vol. II. p. 11.

rulers, and from the hands of skilful masters, the true children of Mer-ti-sen, the great artist of king Mentu-hotep, there proceeded an immense number of beautiful works and pictures. If their ancestors in earlier times had already understood how to work with unknown but incomparable tools the hard substance of granite and similar stones, to polish the surfaces like a mirror, and to fit together the gigantic masses into a mighty building, not unfrequently with iron clamps, as in the structure of the Great Pyramid : if the hand of the diligent artist had worked in hard stone, and imitated to the life what nature had already produced in flesh and bone :—yet to all such art there was still wanting the last stamp of perfection, the beauty which enchants us with admiration. It is from the accession of the Theban kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, that the harmonious form of beauty meets the eye of the beholder, alike in architecture and in sculpture, and truth is united with nobleness.

I. AMENEMHAT I., with the regal name SEHOTEP-AB-RA.[3]

Such is the name of the ruler who greets us on the threshold of this dynasty as the leader of his race. Unless the evidence deceives us, he is a descendant of the prince of the same name who, under Neb-taui Mentu-hotep, received the command to bring enor-

[3] In Egyptian usage, this regal or 'official' or 'throne-name,' which was given to the king on his coronation, *preceded* the family name ; and Dr. Brugsch follows that order in the titles of the subsequent kings of this dynasty.—ED.

mous stones from the valleys of Hammamat, and by so doing earned the praise of the king. (See p. 134.) His elevation to the throne was no peaceful hereditary succession, but a struggle for crown and sceptre by the young king against rival claimants, a conflict full of danger to life and limb. In the instructions which the Pharaoh Amenemhat I. wrote for the benefit of his own son[4] he speaks of the trouble which consumed the land (for Egypt is compared to a 'bull which had lost all memory of the past') from internal wars and conspirators, who sought in a cowardly manner to rob the king of life in the stillness of night. After the fight was ended, the towns subdued, and order re-established, the signal was given for external wars. A memorial stone, which may be seen in London, bears witness that the power of the king was extended towards the South beyond the bounds of the empire, into the land of the Negroes, since mention is made in the inscription of a steward of the mines, which yielded auriferous stone to the king of the Egyptians. His dominion in the South is confirmed by a memorial inscription, engraved on a mass of rock at the entrance of the valley of Girgaui, on the road from Korusko, which records a victory of Amenemhat I. over the inhabitants of the land of Wawa-t.[5] The tenor of the words is short and conclusive:—

[4] Papyrus Sallier II. [Other papyri contain portions of this remarkable document, which is translated by M. Maspero, in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 9, foll.—Ed.]

[5] This hitherto unknown inscription was accidentally discovered on an excursion from Korusko by my travelling companion, Dr. Lüttge, in 1875, who afterwards accompanied me to the place.

'In the nine-and-twentieth year of king Amenemhat—long may he live!—he came hither to smite the inhabitants of the land of Wawa-t.'

Since Wawa-t could be reached by Egyptian travellers not only from the Nile, but also by sea, and since Korusko itself, situated in the country of the same name, gives us a fixed point for the further determination of that province, it is almost certain that Wawa-t coincided with the auriferous valley of Ollaqi, which extends northwards from Korusko to the sea.

The historical information derived from the original record of this inscription on stone is also confirmed by the words written on papyrus and the other works of those old times. They tell us of external campaigns and wars which the king carried on against foreign nations, such as the inhabitants of Wawa-t, the Mazai, the Sati, the Hirusha, and other 'rabble' of strangers in the South and North, in the East and West. Besides the military operations, which brought honour and fame alike to king and country, the service of the gods lay near to the sovereign's heart. He dedicated to them a great number of temples. He was the founder of the temple of Amon at Thebes, where his own portrait in rose-coloured granite from Assouan bore witness to his work. Like Thebes, so also Memphis, the holy abode of Patah, and no less so the country of the Fayoum, and other places of the great empire, were chosen by the favour of the king to be adorned with stone images and temples. And even if the last stones of these works were silent, the

ancient quarries in the limestone-hill of Mokattam and in the valleys of the much-frequented Wady-Hammamat would tell the tale.

Although a Theban, Amenemhat nevertheless followed the ancient custom of the Memphian kings, and built himself, for an 'eternal dwelling,' his own pyramid with the name of Ka-nofer, 'beautiful and high,' . The Pharaoh also carefully provided, during his lifetime, a stone sarcophagus as the receptacle for his body. The chief of the priests of the god Khem, Anentef, the son of Sebek-nekht, was sent to the mountain of Rohannu in the Wady-Hammamat to cut the stone for the sarcophagus from the wall of rock, and to roll the precious burthen, so immensely great that 'never the like had been provided since the time of the god Ra,' down the valley to the plain of Egypt.

Amenemhat ruled over the whole land of Egypt with power and might, 'from the Elephant-city even to the Athu, or lakes in the lowlands;' and that he was wise in thought and deed we learn from many a phrase in the long since faded papyri of ancient origin. Let us first consider the childlike simple narrative of his contemporary, the Egyptian Sineh, who, from some unknown cause, left the court of his lord and king, and took the road towards the north-east to escape out of the land of his fathers.[6] Manifold dangers threatened him in his flight, from the keepers of the roads, and from foreign tribes, who, leading an

[6] This papyrus, which is in the Berlin Museum, has been published in facsimile in the *Denkmäler Aegyptens*, Abth. vi. Bl. 104,

unsettled nomad life on the eastern frontiers of the kingdom, caused the wanderer much care and disquietude. There in the East the obstruction of the great 'Wall' barred the open road. What the Egyptians called Anbu, i.e. 'wall,' was called, in other languages better known to us, Shur (Hebrew, 'wall') or Gerrhon (Greek, 'enclosure,' 'bounds'), both designating the fortress at the entrance of the narrow causeway between the Egyptian (Mediterranean) Sea and the Lake Sirbonis, through which the old high road led from the land of Kemi to the cities of the Ruten.[7] Sineh escapes the vigilance of the watchmen on the 'Wall,' and enters the barren, desolate wilderness. Provided with food and drink by the compassionate inhabitants of the district, the fugitive reaches the land of Edom, within the bounds of which lay the petty kingdom of Tennu. The king of the land, Amunensha, invites the Egyptian exile to his court, gives him his eldest daughter in marriage, and the fruitful district of Æa as his residence. Everything prospers in Sineh's hands; he gathers riches, and rejoices in a great number of children. As David slew Goliath, so the brave Egyptian kills an overbearing avaricious fellow, much looked up to in Tennu on account of his strength, and gains high renown both with the king and the inhabitants of the land. His yearning after his native country at last leaves him

foll. (1860), and translated by Mr. Goodwin in *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 131, foll.—Ed.

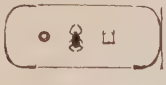
[7] Respecting the localities named, see further the Author's *Discourse on the Exodus* appended to the second volume.—Ed.

no peace. With the leave of his royal father-in-law he addresses himself to Pharaoh in a letter praying to be allowed to return. Received with gladness, and loaded with honour, he lives henceforward at the court of the sovereign of Egypt, who even had his grave erected for him, and 'so he was in favour with the king till the day of his death arrived.'

Simple as is this story of Sineh, which has been made available for science from a hieratic roll in the ancient Egyptian collection at Berlin through the singular acuteness of a learned Englishman, Mr. Goodwin; and venerable as it is alike from its high antiquity and the childlike biblical character of its style, yet it allows us to read pretty clearly between the lines, that, in the times of Amenemhat, disquiet and misunderstanding prevailed in the kingdom, occasioned by the contest for the sceptre and crown, which the founder of the new dynasty did not very easily obtain. For the party of his opponents threatened him with conspiracies and the dagger, and the band of hostile-minded men penetrated in the night-time even to the bed-chamber of the royal palace. The king has well related this to his son and heir in a record still preserved in writing, to place before him a mirror of the time and of the men, and to admonish him to be thenceforward a just and true king on his exalted throne.

As the records on stone inform us, Amenemhat reigned the last ten years of his life in common with his son, Usurtasen, who was still a boy of tender years, and to whom his father addressed the instructions we

have mentioned. When he ascended the throne he took the names

II. KHEPER-KA-RA 

USURTASEN I.[8]

Under his rule the land gradually became quiet, and the old order was completely re-established by law and a firm government. Amenemhat I., as we shall presently show further from the great inscription of Beni-Hassan, had been obliged to pass through the revolted country with his soldiers, in order to meet and subdue his opponents, since he was not allowed to enjoy the fruit of his deeds in quiet repose. It was reserved for his son Usurtasen I. to win back men's minds, and first of all to gain the favour of the earthly priests by buildings in honour of the heavenly gods. His works still exist as witnesses at the present day, and point with eloquent finger to Usurtasen I. as a mighty king.

In the first place, he is mentioned, although only in a few insignificant words, in the inscription which adorns the well-known and often-mentioned obelisk of Heliopolis.[9] At two hours' distance from Cairo, this obelisk rises in the midst of a green cornfield, in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Matarieh, which consists of a few huts of poor Arabs and some houses of well-to-do Egyptians, who scarcely guess on

[8] As explained above (p. 143), the first of these is the king's regal or official name, the second his family name.—ED.

[9] This was supposed to be the oldest known obelisk in the world till the discovery of those of the Eleventh Dynasty. (See p. 135.)—ED.

what a famous soil their feet tread. The temple and town, in truth, lay 1·88 mètre (above 6 feet) underneath the present soil, and nearly 3·50 mètres (about 11½ feet) below the present level of the high Nile. Besides the stone obelisks, wrought with wonderful skill out of the hardest and most beautiful rose granite, the long earthen mounds of the circumvallation, which show the extent of the former buildings of the temple, are the only visible remains of the celebrated city of On, or Heliopolis, whose wise men, teachers, and priests were extolled by all antiquity.

The Egyptians gave the old town the name of Annu (properly meaning 'obelisks' or 'pyramids'), generally with the addition, 'of the north land,' to distinguish it from the other Annu in Southern Egypt, which was situated in the neighbourhood of the capital of the Empire, Thebes, and was better known by its Greek appellation, Hermonthis. Here in Annu (the On of the Bible), there existed from the very earliest known time a celebrated temple of the Sun-god, Atum or Tum (a particular local form of Ra), and of his wife, the goddess Hathor-Jusas, to which the Pharaohs were wont to make pilgrimages, in order, according to ancient custom, to fulfil the rites prescribed for the royal consecration in the 'Great House' of the god. The Ethiopian king Piankhi, who, long after the times of the Twelfth Dynasty, visited the Temple of the Sun-city, Heliopolis, as he went from Memphis along the right bank of the river, where a road led by Kherkhau (Babylon, near the present Old Cairo) to On, has left us, on his stone memorial of victory

at Mount Barkal,[1] a full description of the rites which he performed to Ra and Tum 'in the splendid Benben chambers.'[2]

Although this description furnishes only a general representation of the temple at On, of whose precincts the Greek geographer Strabo has left us a description, as a type of all temple buildings, yet it is sufficient to give us an insight into the importance of this sanctuary. The temple at On already existed in the time of Usurtasen, for it is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the reigns of his royal ancestors and predecessors. The erection of the obelisks proves also that under Usurtasen the building was finished as far as the propyla, or entrance-towers, before which it was the custom to raise these giant stone needles. But a remarkable document on parchment, which I had the good fortune to acquire at Thebes in 1858, and which for some years past has been in the possession of the Berlin collection of Egyptian antiquities, makes the fact certain, that Usurtasen I., at the very beginning of his reign, occupied himself with buildings at the temple of the city of the Sun. This important memorial informs us how, in the third year of his reign, he assembled round his throne the first officials

[1] We omit the extract, which Dr. Brugsch gives in the text, as it will be found in the full translation of Piankhi's inscription, §§ 103–106, in Vol. II. Chap. XVIII.

[2] The word Benben, in old Egyptian, has the same meaning as the Greek word Pyramidion, or the highest point of an obelisk. The Benben accordingly had the form of a small pyramid, and was venerated in the temple of On with devotion similar to that paid to the omphalos in the temple of Delphi.

of his court, to hear their opinion and their counsel as to his intention of raising worthy buildings to the Sun-god. As usual in such assemblies, the king begins his address with a solemn reference to his divine descent, and to his anticipation of succession to the throne, which was acknowledged for him while yet in his mother's womb. From this he proceeds to a discourse on the importance of the buildings and monuments dedicated to the deities, starting from the idea that such alone are able to immortalize the memory of a ruler. After this address, the assembled counsellors unanimously approve the good intentions of their lord, and encourage him to carry out the same without delay. The Pharaoh immediately gives his command to the proper court official, enjoins him to watch over the uninterrupted progress of the work which has been determined upon, and then begins the solemn ceremony of laying the foundation-stone by the king himself.

The great obelisk of king Usurtasen I., of which we have spoken above, stood before the principal entrance to the temple of the Sun. Its four sides contained hieroglyphic inscriptions in the following terms, repeated four times in the same words:—

'The Hor of the Sun, | the life for those who are born, | the king of the upper and lower country, | Kheper-ka-ra, | the lord of the double crown, | the life for those who are born, | the son of the Sun-god Ra, | Usurtasen, | the friend of the spirits of On, | ever living, | the golden Hor, | the life for those who are born, | the gracious God, | Cheper-ka-ra, | has executed this work, | at the beginning of a thirty years cycle, | he the dispenser of life for evermore.'

The sacred characters, deeply and beautifully cut in the red granite, contain nothing but honorary designations of the king, with the addition that Usurtasen caused the gigantic stone obelisks to be set up on a certain holiday of the old Egyptian calendar. The reader will be undeceived, who may have thought himself justified in expecting important discoveries of historical moment, or pious and wise proverbs, in the four rows of inscriptions, when in their stead he only meets with empty words that teach nothing. But it is the miserable inheritance of the most beautiful and grandest monuments of Egypt, which owe their origin to the decree of royal power, that they contain, as in this case, empty flatteries in honour of the king, in a prescribed repetition of the same idea, and without any deep meaning which might correspond to the labour of the work and the choice of the material. Ancient Egypt knew only this fashion of singing praises to the proud spirit and arrogance of the Pharaohs—a striking contrast to the intellectual acquisitions of our time.[3] Usurtasen must have had a special predilection for this mode of perpetuating his name; at least, remains which have been discovered in other parts attest his inclination for the laborious erection of stone obelisks. In the ancient province of the lake of Mœris, in the vicinity of the modern Arab village of Begig, are the fragments of a similar memorial, which, according to the tenor of

[3] The French edition has:—'C'est, en égyptien, le langage officiel plein d'emphase et d'expressions sublimes pour lesquelles les temps modernes n'ont pas de correspondant.'

the inscription, was executed by the king in honour of the local gods of the capital, Shet or Sheti, which the Greeks called Crocodilopolis, after the sacred animal which was worshipped there.

As his father Amenemhat had begun to lay the foundations of the later imperial temple at Thebes, called the Temple of Apetu (the ruins of which now cover the district of the neighbouring Arab village of Karnak), to the east of the granite building of the chief sanctuary,—so his son Usurtasen continued to add in like manner new works to those of his father, as proofs of his veneration for the divine Amon. His care in this respect was not confined to the dwelling of the god, but he turned his attention also to the chief sacred servants of Amon. He dedicated to them a separate place, which bore the name of 'the holy dwelling of the first seers of Amon.' Though no traces of this ancient building exist, the fact is proved by an inscription found at Thebes, which relates the restoration of the same edifice by the ninth king of the name of Ramses (with the official name Nofer-ka-ra). In his time there lived and worked in Thebes the first seer of Amon, by name Amenhotep, a son of Ramses-Nekht, who had held the same office in the service of the god. After he had succeeded to the functions of his father, his first thought was to restore the great Court of Amon (*p-iban-'ao*), and the dwelling of the first seers of Amon, defraying the cost from his own means. He relates what he did as follows:—

'As I found the holy dwelling of the first seers of Amon, who of old sat in the house of Amon, the king of the gods, hastening to decay—for what there was of it dated from the time of king Usurtasen the First—I caused it to be built anew, in beautiful forms and tasteful work. I restored the thickness of the surrounding wall from behind to the front part. I caused the buildings to be raised, and their columns to be set up of hard stone in tasteful work.'

His account continues in the same strain. As a recognition of his generous sacrifices, the king thanked him, in the tenth year, and the nineteenth day of the month Hathor, by a rich reward, as will be described further in the proper place.

One of the very celebrated rock-tombs, which greet the traveller from a far distance on the steep height of the hills of Beni-Hassan, has preserved in its inscriptions, which deck the walls below the coloured reliefs, some historical memorials of the first five sovereigns of this dynasty, and among them of our Usurtasen. It is the same tomb which always so strikingly rivets the attention of the visitor by the new form of the pillar changed into the column,[4] by the design of the front, so pleasing to the eye, and by the peculiar richness of its instructive pictures, now, alas! constantly more and more exposed to injury. Chiselled in the rocks, like the whole series of tombs near it, was the rock-hewn hall, dedicated to the service of the dead and to the memory of deceased lords and ladies of the olden time, all be-

[4] This refers to the polygonal fluted columns in the grottoes of Beni-hassan, which suggest a prototype of the Doric order. See the details figured in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (new ed. 1879), vol. ii. p. 293.—ED.

longing to a family of noble origin, and holding hereditary possession of the district in the neighbourhood of their graves. The ancient writing designates the land of their inheritance as the nome of Mah, better known in later times as the province of the city of Antinöe. The first place in time as well as in importance among the generations of the dead is held by the first Khnumhotep, whose genealogy may be thus represented by the help of notices from the inscriptions:—

FAMILY OF AMENI AND KHNUMHOTEP.

Ameni (Amen): *governor*

(*husband unnamed*) . . . . . = Tent (*wife*)

Nehera I. = Nekht I. Bekht (*wife*)

Nuteru

Kheti (*wife*) . . . = . . . Khnumhotep I. (*nomarch*) . . . = Zat (*concubine*)

Sons.
Nekht II.
Khnumhotep II.
Nehera II.
Nuternekht

Daughters.
Bekht
Tent
Mires

Sons.
Nehera III.
Khnumhotep III.
Ap

Contemporary kings.
1. Amenemhat
2. Usurtasen I
3. Amenemhat
4. Usurtasen I
5. Usurtasen

The history of Ameni, the head of the family, is related in a double inscription engraved in holy letters on the entrance doorway. He is introduced as himself speaking, according to the ancient practice, to relate tersely and simply the chief incidents of his life:—

'In the year 43, under the rule of king Usurtasen I.—may he live long even to all eternity!—which (year) corresponds with the year 25 in the nome of Mah, where the hereditary lord AMEN was

governor. In the year 43, on the 14th day of the month Paophi.

'Address to those who enjoy life, and to whom death is hateful. Let them recite the prayer of the offerings of the dead.

'In favour of the hereditary governor-in-chief of the nome of Mah (some other titles follow), the chief over the holy seers, Amen, who has conquered (i.e. death).

'I accompanied my lord when he made an expedition to smite his enemies in the country of the Atu. I went up with him as the son of the most noble lord, who was captain of the warriors and governor of the nome of Mah, as substitute (?) for my father, who was old, and who had received his reward from the king's palace, for he was beloved at court. I entered the country of Kash (the land of the Negroes), ascending the river, and the way brought me to the uttermost boundary of the land. I convoyed the booty of my master, and my praise reached heaven when his Holiness returned home successful. He had smitten his enemies in the miserable country of Kash. I returned home in his retinue, with a joyful countenance. Not one of my warriors was missing.

'Again I went up (the river) to convoy the golden treasures to his Holiness king Usurtasen—may he live long! I went with the king's eldest son and heir to the throne, Ameni—life, welfare, and health be to him! I went up with the number of 400 chosen persons of my warriors. They returned home successful: no one was missing. I brought back the gold. That was the beginning of my distinctions on the part of the kings.

'My father praised me. After that I again went up (the river) to convoy the treasures to the town of Coptos, in company with the hereditary lord and chief governor of the town, Usurtasen—life, welfare, and health be to him! I went up with 400 men, chosen out of the strongest people of the nome of Mah. I arrived happily. My warriors will certify all that I have said.

'I was a kind master, of a gentle character, a governor who loved his city. I passed many a year as governor in the nome of Mah. All the works for the palace of the king were placed in my hands. Also the chiefs of . . . of the temples of the nome of Mah gave me thousands of bulls with their calves. I received thanks for this on the part of the royal palace, because of the yearly supply of milch cows. I gave up all the produce to the palace, and I kept back nothing for myself out of all his workshops

(or magazines). The whole nome of Mah worked for me with activity. No child of the poor did I afflict: no widow did I oppress: no landowner did I displace: no herdsman did I drive away: from no 'five-hand master' (small farmer) did I take away his men for (my own) works. No one was unhappy n my time, no one hungry in my days, not even in the years of famine. For I had tilled all the fields of the nome of Mah, up to its southern and northern frontiers. Thus I prolonged the life of its inhabitants, and preserved the food which it produced. No hungry man was in it. I distributed equally to the widow as to the married woman. I did not prefer the great to the humble in all that I gave away; and when the inundations of the Nile were great, then the owner of the seed was master of his property; nothing of the produce of the field was withdrawn from him by my hand.'

The concluding words of this inscription, in which Amen sings his own praises, have given rise to the idea that they contain an allusion to the sojourn of the patriarch Joseph in Egypt and to the seven years of famine under his administration. But two reasons especially tell against this supposition, which would recognize in Usurtasen I. the Pharaoh of Joseph. First there is the difference in the time, which cannot be made to agree with the days of Joseph, and next, still more, the indisputable fact, that in other inscriptions, of which we shall speak farther on, years of famine are mentioned, which thoroughly correspond as to facts and time with the Biblical account of the successive years of famine. (See pp. 302–4.) What the inscription of Amen or Ameni does really teach us in an historical point of view is confined to the mention of a military expedition of the king up the river directed against the land of Kash, the same which is called in Holy Scripture by the name of Kush. At that time dark-coloured races

of the purest negro blood dwelt from the Egyptian frontier at Syene southwards up to the sources of the Nile. The names of the races of the land of Kush conquered by the first Usurtasen, or perhaps rather the names of the countries inhabited by them, are preserved on a memorial stone which was found in the neighbourhood of Wady-Halfah, a little above the Second Cataract, and is at present exhibited in the collection of Egyptian antiquities at Florence.[5] They are named in this order: Kas, Shemik, Khesea, Sheat, Akherkin: what followed afterwards on this precious monument has unfortunately been destroyed. Wady-Halfah, the ancient place of the tablet of victory, was, without doubt, the last point to which Usurtasen extended his campaign against the above-mentioned inhabitants of the negro-land in order to fix the boundaries of the newly acquired land at the second cataract, in the neighbourhood of which these tribes were located. We shall afterwards relate how Wady-Halfah soon formed the strongly fortified southern frontier of the empire. (See pp. 181–2.)

[5] During a journey which I made in Italy this year, I had the opportunity of seeing the stone, which was first mentioned by Champollion (*Letters from Egypt*, p. 101, 2nd ed.), and of copying accurately the above-mentioned names. The former spelling of some of them has thus been corrected. In Champollion's *Notices descriptives*—by the publication of which in a complete and corrected form, at the suggestion of the late Viscount E. de Rougé, the French Government has again done good service to the study of Egyptian antiquity—the same inscription is given in the form in which Champollion had the opportunity of seeing and reading it in Egypt (vol. ii. p. 693). He made out clearly the following names: Huu, Kas, I . . . , Shemik, Khesea, Sheat, Akherkin, Uau, Khe . . . , Amau.

As the arms of the Egyptians thus advanced southwards to gain for their country new territories, and with them new precious productions of the soil (in Nubia it was the gold which attracted them above everything else), so also Usurtasen directed his view to the East, to the caverns and mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula, the mines of which had already been worked at an earlier period under the ancient kings of the Memphian race. Usurtasen sent new settlers to the lonely valleys of this district, to extract out of the rock and to work up real Mafkat (turquoises) and copper, for the wants of Egypt. Some inscriptions of the Egyptian workmen and officials, whom the king sent there, bear witness to their presence in the valley of Magharah, where the lapse of forty centuries has not been able to obliterate the traces of their activity.

The road from Egypt to Sinai led from the low lands of the Delta by the narrow road along which Sineh was obliged to pass in his flight from Egypt to Edom. Here, also, on the eastern side of the low lands, traces of the royal power of Usurtasen show themselves. In Tanis, 'the great city' of the lower country, surrounded on all sides by races of Semitic origin, the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty already raised buildings and beautiful works of sculpture, that so their pillars might do honour even to the gods. The portrait of Usurtasen himself has been found on several fragments of this perished world of temples.

Many nobles once served the king. Centuries of ruin have obliterated their memory, and only the

traces of a few have escaped destruction. Among them was the court official Mentu-hotep, whose tombstone, covered with rich inscriptions, is now exhibited at Boulaq. According to the custom of the time, Mentu-hotep is introduced, sometimes speaking himself, sometimes as spoken of. And what he says relates to his own praise, his good service to the gods, the king, and the country in which he formerly lived and worked. Let us listen to his professions, for they disclose to us incidentally historical notices of no little value for a knowledge of the times with which we are now occupied. Thus does the mouth of Mentu-hotep, which has so long been silent, extol himself as—

'A man learned in the law, a legislator, one who apportioned the offices, who regulated the works of the nome, who restored order in the whole land, who carried out all the behests of the king, and who as judge gave decisions and restored to the owner his property. As chief architect of the king he promoted the worship of the gods, and instructed the inhabitants of the country according to the best of his knowledge, even as God has commanded to be done. He protected the unfortunate, and freed him who was in want of freedom.'

Again :—

'Peace was in the utterances of his mouth, and the written learning of the wise Thot was on his tongue. Very skilful in artistic work with his own hand, he carried out his designs as they ought to be done. Being the first in the country, the king's heart was full of him : also the great and distinguished men of the court gave him their love.—He knew what was hidden in the heart of every man, and appreciated a man according to his true value.—He compelled the enemies of the king to submit to the court of justice of the thirty. He punished the foreigners, reduced the Herusha to quiet, and made peace with the Negroes.—He was governor in the cities of Ant and the lands of Tesher. He gave his orders to the land of the South, and imposed the taxes on the North country.'

In a word, our Mentu-hotep, who was also invested with several priestly dignities, and was Pharaoh's treasurer, appears as the *alter ego* of the king.

'When he arrived, the great personages bowed down before him at the outer door of the royal palace.'

The panegyric, which occupies twenty-two long lines, finishes with a remark relating to certain buildings. Those referred to are the temple of the god Osiris and the construction of a well at Abydus, both entrusted to Mentu-hotep by the special order of the king. He says on this subject :—

'I it was who carried out the work for the building of the temple . . . and made the well according to the order of the Holiness of the royal lord.'

The well is probably the same about which, more than 2,000 years after its construction, the Greek geographer Strabo (xvii. p. 813) relates, that in the Memnonium of Abydus there was a well, to the bottom of which there was a descent by an arched passage constructed of single stones admirable for size and workmanship. No one has yet been successful in finding it, in spite of several attempts to discover its situation. With regard to the building of the temple of Abydus, which Usurtasen caused to be carried out by Mentu-hotep, his statement is confirmed by a memorial tablet in the Louvre (C, No. 12), which belongs to the time of one of the Pharaohs of the Thirteenth Theban Dynasty, the otherwise unknown king Ra-kha-n-maa Ra-n-ter. An overseer of the temple at Abydus, by name Ameni-Seneb, who lived in the days of the sovereign just mentioned, gives the following account :—

'There came to me the scribe of the governor Seneb, a son of the governor, to summon me with reference to an order of the governor. And I went with him, and I found the governor, who was waiting in his office. And this prince gave me the order in my presence, saying thus: "Thou art commissioned to cleanse the temple of Abydus. Workmen shall be given thee for this purpose, and temple-servants of the district of the holy workplace." And I cleansed it from bottom to top, and its walls which surrounded the interior. And the writings were filled up with colours, emblems, and other ornamental work; and thus *what king Usurtasen I. had built* was restored.'

The work of Mentu-hotep did not for some time fall to decay, although the drifting sand of the desert, in ancient times as now, did all that was possible to fill the temple of Osiris up to the very roof. A second cleansing, and at the same time an embellishment, of this very old temple of Osiris took place under the reign and by order of the third Thutmes. We learn this from an inscription, still preserved, which was discovered at Abydus, as will be more fully stated in its place.

Long after, under Seti, the father of the second Ramses, the temple, which had suffered much from the tooth of time, had the good fortune to be completely rebuilt—a fact which Ramses reckons to his own high credit and renown.

To return to our Mentu-hotep; we must recognize in him one of those men, distinguished by all kinds of knowledge and acquirements, who were entrusted by degrees with dignities and offices, with which our later times have nothing similar to compare. For he was at the same time a man learned in the law and a legislator, an administrator of the home

government and of the public buildings, who occupied himself with priestly and divine functions, and carried on foreign wars with the neighbours of the Egyptian empire. But those times were very different from the present. The compass of the state administration was limited, and there were no schools to train officials for this or that career. The man of energy and industry occupied the place now held by the highly trained official, who does not invent or develop out of his own resources, but receives from others what is afterwards to avail him in the career which he chooses for himself.

Among the number of other servants of the king we must, in conclusion, name Meri, the son of Menkhtu. From an inscription on stone (exhibited in the Egyptian Hall of the Louvre, C, No. 3) dated the 29th of Paophi, in the ninth year of the reign of Usurtasen I., it seems clear that Meri received from Pharaoh himself the commission to construct for his royal master 'the sublime place of long duration,' or, in other words, the sepulchre on a grand scale, with columns, gates, and a great front court, all executed in well-hewn limestone from the old quarries of Troja, opposite the city of Memphis.

The inscription, as I interpret it, runs as follows :—

'I was an intelligent servant, distinguished in my works, pleasant as a palm-tree. My lord entrusted to me a commission grandly conceived, to erect for him the lofty long-enduring place of his sepulchre. It was to tower up conspicuous on all sides from every place, corresponding to the excellency of the divine one (i.e. the king). Pillars were cut to support the roof; a canal was dug, to let in the water of the river.[6] The gates and all the *Tekhenen* (?) of the roof were of bright shining stone of Troja. The god Osiris

of the West was full of joy because of the monuments (of my lord). I myself was full of joy, and my soul was delighted at my achievement.'

We will here leave king Usurtasen I., and turn to his successor, whom the monuments call by the double name

III. NUB-KAU-RA AMENEMHAT (II).,

the second Amenemhat according to our mode of speech. Few memorials of historical importance have survived to us from his days, to allow us to glance at the internal and external position of the Egyptian empire. Nevertheless, we may clearly see, from still existing inscriptions, that the second Amenemhat trod in the footsteps of his predecessors, extending the southern boundaries of the empire, and defending the inhabitants of the South against the incursions of the negroes, by building well-fortified places on that frontier. The possession of this region, as I have already remarked, was of especial importance for the Egyptian sovereigns, because its mountains, besides many precious stones, yielded gold, after which the ancients hankered as eagerly as the later generations of our own time.

[6] Compare Herod. ii. 124 : '[Cheops] made the subterranean chambers in the plateau on which the pyramids stand, which he [Cheops] made for his own tomb on an island, making a canal to it from the Nile.' And further, c. 127, of the pyramid of Cephren : 'For it neither has subterranean chambers beneath it, nor is there a canal dug, flowing into it from the Nile, as into the other; for (in the latter) it flows in through a channel or tunnel lined with masonry (δι' οἰκοδομημένου αὐλῶνος), forming an island, in which they say that Cheops himself lies buried.'

A stone memorial which was discovered in Abydus, and related to a distinguished official of the second Amenemhat, has preserved to us some remarkable notices about the journeys which were undertaken at the command of the king by his great men, to explore the conquered countries, and to urge on the obtaining of the gold. Incidentally, the memorial informs us again of the well-known fact, that the able servants of the Pharaoh were overwhelmed with commissions of the most various kinds.

Among such, Se-hathor (for so this faithful servant of his lord was named) was one of the most distinguished officials of the court, who spared himself no pains to fulfil the commands of Pharaoh according to his wishes. In brief but nevertheless very instructive words, he relates in the following manner his missions by the royal command:—

'I opened a mine by the labour of the young men, and forced the old to wash the gold. I brought back the produce. I came as far as the further land (since called Nubia). The negro inhabitants came to me, subdued by the fear with which the lord of the land inspired them. I entered the land of Heha, visited its watering places, and opened the harbours.'

The land of Heha, or, as it was also called, Heh, lay below the Second Cataract. Se-hathor seems to have been the first who explored the region. Afterwards, under the third Usurtasen, an immense stone covered with inscriptions was erected at Semneh, which served as a mark of the Egyptian boundary for the inhabitants of the country of Heh (see p. 182). The same Se-hathor, who boasts 'that he had been sent by his Holiness many times on missions of all

kinds,' relates in another passage on his memorial stone a service of a peculiar description. Let us hear him himself:—

'I was sent over to the building of (king) Amenu, whose pyramid is called Khorp—may he live for ever!—to superintend the execution of the work upon fifteen statues of hard durable stone. (The restoration of) what had been thrown down in one day was completed in two months. Never was the like done since the rule of the sun-god Ra.'

King Amenu, whose name and existence we learn only from this short inscription, appears nowhere else on the monuments. He must, at all events, have belonged to the rulers immediately before the Twelfth Dynasty, and in all probability he was one of the ancestors of the Pharaohs of that dynasty. As such he had a claim for the reverence due to a king after his death. Fifteen statues in his house or tomb had been thrown down in one day—(we can easily imagine the perpetration of such an outrage in the troublous times of the struggle for the throne when the Twelfth Dynasty was gaining its place in the list of Pharaohs) —and it was the care of his successor Amenemhat to give the strictest orders for the restoration and re-erection of the work which had been injured. Sehathor occupied only two months in carrying out the wishes of the king.

At Tanis, in Lower Egypt, there are also traces of the royal power of this Amenemhat; for there was found, under the *débris* and ruins of the destroyed temples, the life-size statue, in black granite, of the wife of this king, who was called by the name of Nofert, which means either 'the good' or 'the beau-

tiful.' The royal lady, with her hair dressed in the ancient fashion, is seated on her throne, on which her full names and titles are engraved.

On a memorial tablet, in the Egyptian Museum at Boulaq, this queen's name appears again in the following pedigree :—

Ameni=Hun(t) (*wife*) — *Queen* Nofert=Amenemha (II.)

Fuau . . . . . = . . . Princess H'a-t-shepset

Daughters : Nezés-'ankh ; H'atshepset ; Nebant.

Sons : Nub-em-ua (and obliterated names).

After a reign of nine-and-twenty years, the king associated his son with himself on the throne. This son bore the names

IV. KHA-KA-RA[7] USURTASEN (II.).

His history is found only in an isolated passage here and there upon the monuments. In general we may conclude with certainty from the scattered notices, that under the rule of this second Usurtasen the empire was at the height of its prosperity. Some lines which are engraved on a rock at the town of Assouan, the ancient Syene, and which date from the common reign of the two kings, father and son, bear witness that the sovereign's attention was constantly directed to the southern border-land (Nubia). In

[7] This is the form given in the German work : the French has KHA-KHEPER-RA. The hieroglyphs, as given on the Table of Abydus and elsewhere, read KHEPER-KHA-RA or RA-KHA-KHEPER ; and this form (the *order* is indifferent) is generally adopted.—ED.

this case the region of Wawa-t is that about which an official of the two kings gives us information, in making his report as to the Pharaonic garrisons on that frontier.

The first kings of the Twelfth Dynasty—of whom we have thus far spoken, and with whom we must also rank the next Pharaoh, Usurtasen III.—appear in their order in that long and eloquent inscription, which adorns the lower border of the hall of sacrifice over Khnumhotep's rock-tomb at Beni-Hassan. In order to give the reader a just representation of the life and labours of the great lords in the public life of those times, we may be allowed to present a literal translation of this old discourse, in which, for the sake of brevity, we prefer to suppress the titles of honour of the several kings, because they only encumber and interrupt its continuity:[8]—

'(1) The hereditary lord and blood relation of the king, who loves his God, the governor (2) of the district of the East,[9] KHNUMHOTEP, son of Nehera, who has overcome (death), [the Egyptian mode of expressing 'the deceased'] (3) the son of the daughter of an hereditary lord, the lady Beket, who has overcome (death), (4) the same has executed this for his memorial.

'His first virtue consisted in this, that he was a benefactor (5) to his town, so that he won for his name lasting remembrance

[8] In this and other texts quoted the *numbers* denote the lines of the original inscription; some few words being occasionally transposed owing to the exigencies of grammar. Words added by way of *explanation* are inserted in ( ): while those added conjecturally (or sometimes from parallel passages in other inscriptions) to *complete an imperfect sense* are inserted in [ ]. Erased or illegible passages are marked by . . . . . .—ED.

[9] This office corresponds to the *Arabiarchs* of the Græco-Roman age.—FRENCH EDITION.

for long long ages, (6) and that he through his good works immortalized it in his tomb (7) of the world below (i.e. the necropolis). He made the name of his people to flourish, (8) who always did good works according to their position. (9) For good men were the inhabitants of his (10) houses. He who distinguished himself among his (11) serfs; to him stood open every position (12) and all honour (?), as is the custom.

'(13) His mouth speaks thus: (14) The Holiness of the king (15–16) AMENEMHAT II. raised me to be (17) hereditary lord and governor of the countries of the East, (18) and to be chief priest of Hor and of the holy lioness Pakht, and (19) the inheritance of my mother's father in the city of (20) Menat-khufu. He (the king) fixed (21) for me the frontier-pillar in the South; he set (22) up that of the North corresponding to the quarter of the heavens. (23) He assigned to me the great river in his territory, (24) as had been done to the father (25) of my mother, from the first.

'(26) Now an order went forth from the mouth (27) of the king's Holiness (28) SEHOTEP-AB-RA (29) AMENEMHAT (I.). (30) He made him (the father of my mother) hereditary lord and governor (31) of the countries of the East, in the city of Menat-khufu. (32) He fixed the frontier pillar towards the South, and set up (33) the Northern corresponding to the quarter of the heavens. He caused him to distribute the great river (34) over his province. His eastern boundary (35) began from the nome of Tut-Hor, and extended to the east country.

'(36) It was at that time when his Holiness returned, after he had suppressed (37) the insurrection, manifesting himself like the god Tum (the evening sun) (38) himself. He restored that which he found (39) destroyed. Taking possession of one town (40) after another, he informed himself of a town and (41) its boundaries up to the next town, placing (42) their boundary pillars (43) according to the quarter of the heavens, taking cognizance of their waters (i.e. the canals, &c., for irrigation) (44) according to the written registers, estimating them by (45) their produce, according to the greatness (46) of his love of justice.

'And after this he made him (47) hereditary lord and chief officer of the nome of Mah. (48) He fixed for him the frontier pillars. (49) His southern boundary was towards (50) the nome of Hermopolis, his northern towards the nome of Cynopolis. He distributed for him (51) the great river over his province. (52) His

water, his fields, and his groves, and (53) his uncultivated land, extended to the districts of the West.

'(54) He made his eldest son, Nekht, (55) who has overcome (death), the highly honoured, a governor (or prince: *haq*): (56) his inheritance was in the city of Menat-khufu, (57) as a sign of great acknowledgment (58) of the royal favour.

'A decree (59) went forth from the mouth of his Holiness (60) the king (61) KHEPER-KA-RA USURTASEN (I.)—(62) may his first-born be noble! (63) My mother entered upon (64) the dignity of an hereditary lady, and (65) as a daughter of a governor (or prince: *haq*) (66) of the nome of Mah, in the city of Ha-Sehotep-ab-ra (Amenemhat I.) (67) to become the wife (68) of the hereditary lord and governor (or prince: *haq*) of the cities. (69) The heart of the king, the lord of Upper Egypt, rejoiced, and enchanted (?) was (70) the lord of Lower Egypt, when he united her to the prefect of the city (71) Nehera the highly honoured.

'(72) King AMENEMHAT (II.) established me (73) as the son of a ruler (*ha*) in the inheritance (74) of the government (or principality, the dignity of a *haq*) of my mother's father, according to the greatness (75) of his love of justice. The god Tum (76) he is himself. And Amenemhat II. (77) made me (78) a ruler (*ha*) in his 19th year, in (79) the city of Menat-khufu. There I arranged (80) and established the abundance of necessaries (81) of all sorts of things, and made to flourish (82) the name of my father, and did good for the dwellings (83) of the revered ones (the dead) and their houses, and I caused sculptures (or images, i.e. as memorials of them) to be carried (84) to the holy dwelling, and arranged for them (85) their offerings of pure gifts, (86) and I instituted the officiating priest, and was liberal to him (87) in gifts of land and (88) peasants. I ordered (89) the funeral offerings for all the feasts (90) of the world below, at the feast of the new year, at the beginning of the year, at the feast of the little year, (91) at the feast of the great year, at the feast of the end of the year, (92) at the great feast of joy (the *panegyry*), at the feast of the great heat (the summer solstice), (93) at the feast of the little heat (the winter solstice), at the feast of the five intercalary days (94) of the year, at the festival of Shetat, at the festival of the sand, (95) at the twelve monthly feasts, at the twelve half-monthly feasts, (96) at all the feasts on the plain and on mountain. And should (97) the priest or any other person (98) cease to do all this, may he perish, and may (99) his son not sit in his seat!'

Here we conclude the translation of this inscription, which the writer continues for many more lines. The author of it relates to us, in antique language, the history of one of the most eminent families of the country, who lived and served under the first kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. We recognize in it, besides hints of warlike events in consequence of a change of dynasty, the happy times of a wise and peaceful government, animated with zeal for the welfare of the living, for the service of the gods, and for the memory of the dead. In the same regions, which at the present time display to the eye of the traveller the sad spectacle of miserable villages and impoverished inhabitants, there flourished in ancient days towns with an industrious population; and smiling fields, intersected by canals, extended to the foot of the mountains. On the plains stood splendid temples, thronged by pious multitudes; on the rocky height, the eye admired the magnificent sepulchral chambers, with their rich ornamental colouring, which were consecrated to the memory of the departed; whilst in the deep shaft, hidden away and inaccessible to the curious gaze, rested the embalmed bodies of the dead. And what remains of all this greatness, this splendour and magnificence? A few ruins, which, thanks to their concealed situation or their gigantic masses, neither the hand of man nor the tooth of time has been able to destroy in the course of the short eternity since their origin. But even in their last ruins, these witnesses of the most venerable past manifest traces of an age so enlightened and so devoted to progressive improve-

ment, that even our century of great discoveries and intellectual attainments must look with amazement upon those giants of antiquity.

A close examination of the words which the above inscription puts into the mouth of Khnumhotep gives occasion for some very interesting observations, which enable us to form just ideas as to the nature and method of the public administration of the country, and in particular as to the right of inheritance which regulated the hereditary succession to deceased persons, whereby the sons and daughters of the governors of the country and towns played an important part as heirs and heiresses. The nobility was in possession of certain rights, either by birth or by alliance with a daughter who was an heiress.[1] These rights became valid through a decision from above; it was requisite that the king should issue his commands with regard to them. Above all, the position of the Haq,[2] or prince-governors of the nomes, was of great importance, and requires to be accurately understood in order to comprehend many events in the course of Egyptian history, which overthrew whole dynasties and interrupted the ordinary course of affairs and of the government of the country. We shall have occasion to return to this question later, in order to prove by particular examples the very special importance of these princes of nomes and their claims on the right of inheritance.

[1] Compare what has been said above of the similar right of succession to the crown, pp. 75–6.—Ed.

[2] Dr. Brugsch translates this title by *Fürst* in his German History, and by *gouverneur* in his French edition.—Ed.

Another observation, which forces itself involuntarily on the reader of the above-quoted inscription, concerns the personal share of the Pharaohs in fixing the boundaries of nomes and in the distribution of the water at the time of the inundations. This participation rested on good grounds, for on the one hand it was a check upon the inevitable disputes as to boundaries between neighbouring princes of nomes and governors of towns; and on the other hand it facilitated the drawing up of the written registers, which, 'in the name of Pharaoh,' contained an exact survey of the territories thus bounded, according to which the taxes were of course levied.

A third and last observation, of a more scientific nature, cannot escape our attention. It concerns a long list of the festivals of the ancient Egyptian calendar, which are mentioned towards the end of the inscription.

We here learn that, so early as that remote period in the history of the world, the learned men on the banks of the Nile were diligently occupied in watching the course of the stars, and viewing their complete cycles in connection with the regularly recurring appearances of the cultivated earth. They had already firmly settled ideas of the various lengths thus assigned to the year.

In order the better to judge of this very interesting question, we have also to give the translation of another calendrical inscription which meets the eye of the visitor, engraved in beautifully cut hieroglyphics, over the entrance door of the mortuary chapel of Khnumhotep at Beni-Hassan.

We have arranged in a tabular form the series of the so-called feasts of the dead mentioned therein, in order that they may be easily understood. The days of the months, added here and there, are taken from other monuments, which thus more clearly determine the time of the several feasts.

A. *Feasts of the Year :—*
1. Feast of the New Year.
2. Feast of the Great Year.
3. Feast of the Little Year.

B. *Feasts of the Months :—*
1. Feast of the great heat (at the beginning of Mekhir).
2. Feast of the little heat (at the beginning of Phamenoth).

C. *Feasts of the Days :—*
1. The feasts on the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 15th, 17th, 29th, and 30th day of each month.
2. The five intercalary days of the year.

D. *Special feasts :—*
1. Feast of the rising of Sothis (Sirius).
2. Feast called Uak (the 17th to 18th of Thot).
3. Feast of Thot (the 19th of Thot).
4. Feast of navigation.
5. Feast of the commencement of the inundation.
6. Feast of the bark Tebet.
7. The great feast of joy (Panegyry).
8. The good feast on the mountain.
9. The feast called Asha.

A comparison of these feasts with the catalogue of holidays given in the long inscription just quoted enables us to perceive that the latter, although on the whole less complete, nevertheless contains three feasts more, namely, the feast of the beginning of the year, another feast at the end of the year, and the feast called Shetat.

Though the subject in itself may be somewhat dry, yet there is a peculiar satisfaction in gaining from these statements of the most ancient Egyptian calendar the conviction that four different forms of the year were already known five-and-twenty centuries before our era. We shall scarcely be wrong in supposing that the new year refers to the commencement of the so-called vague (or civil) year, and the festival of the beginning of the year to the fixed (or Sothic) year.[3] Then there remains further the correspondence of the 'little year' with the lunar year, of the 'great year' either with the so-called dog-star cycle, or, what is much more probable, with a lunar year with intercalated days. It must be left to the further researches of science to show how these four forms of the year are to be explained, and what connection they have with one another.

[3] The ordinary Egyptian year, used for civil purposes, consisted of 365 days, divided into twelve months of thirty days, with five intercalary days added at the end. This is technically called the *vague* year (*annus vagus*, literally *wandering*), because, being shorter than the solar year of (*approximately*) $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, the omission of the quarter of a day causes its beginning to move back through the seasons (and, speaking astronomically, through the stars) till it comes round again to coincidence with the beginning of the *fixed* year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, which was used by the Egyptian priests. This coincidence happens at the completion of 1,460 fixed years, or 1,461 vague years, because the number of days added in *leap-years* makes up one year in 1,460 (for $1{,}460 \div 4 = 365$). This period of $1{,}460 = 1{,}461$ years was called the *Sothic cycle*, because the priests estimated the true year (*approximately*) by the conjunction of the sun with the star Soth (Sirius, the Dog-star). There is no evidence that the Egyptian priests had any knowledge of the further correction required to reduce the fixed or Sothic year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days to the *true* solar year of 365d. 5h. 48m. $45\frac{1}{2}$sec.—ED.

The rich paintings, with which all the wall-surfaces of the tomb of Khnumhotep are covered, have an inestimable value for our knowledge of the arts and trades, as well as of the domestic and public life, of the Egyptians of this time, quite apart from the sacred subjects to which the paintings and inscriptions relate, though but in a disjointed manner. Among the countless representations with which the hall of sacrifice is adorned, the greatest consideration and regard is due to the scene, historically so interesting, of the entry of a strange race into Egypt. A Semitic family, belonging to the great people of the Amu, had left their native land, in the days when Usurtasen II. ruled as king in Egypt, to migrate to the blessed banks of the Nile. The immigrants numbered thirty-seven persons, consisting of men, women, and children, who are represented standing before our Khnumhotep, to testify to him their high esteem according to their manner, and, as it appears, to beg for a gracious reception in the territory of his nome. 'The royal scribe Noferhotep,' an official in the service of Knumhotep, offers to his lord a leaf of papyrus inscribed as follows :—

'In the sixth year of the reign of king Usurtasen II. : an account is rendered concerning the Amu who brought to Khnumhotep, the son of the prince, while he was still alive, the paint for the eyes called Mastemut, from the country of Pitshu. Their number amounts to thirty-seven.'

The scribe is followed by another personage, a native Egyptian, whom a short inscription designates as 'the overseer of these (strangers), by name Khiti.'

Without doubt, on the arrival of the Semitic strangers at the territory of Khnumhotep's nome, Khiti had been entrusted with the commission to take care of the immigrants. Behind him appears, standing in the place of honour, the head of the foreign race, or, as the inscription above the picture designates him, 'the Haq (prince or chieftain) of the land of Abesha.' This name is of pure Semitic complexion, and recals to mind Abishai, the sister's son of king David, who particularly recommended himself to his uncle by his skill as a general. Our Abesha approaches, full of respect, to the person of Khnumhotep—who is accompanied by 'the eldest son that God gave (him)' of the same name—and offers him as a 'baksheesh,' or present, a magnificent wild goat of the species still met with on the rocks of the peninsula of Sinai. Behind their chieftain appear, rank by rank, bearded men, armed with spears, bows, and clubs, women in the bright-coloured dress of the Amu, with their children, and asses laden with the goods and chattels of the immigrants, who turn curious eyes on the distinguished Egyptian lord Khnumhotep, whilst a member of the little band seems to call forth with the *plectrum* harmonious tones from his lyre of antique form.[4] The peaceful intercourse is explained in the few words:—

'This is the arrival to bring the eye-paint Masmut; which thirty-seven Amu bring to him.'

The paint in question was an article of trade much

[4] A coloured engraving of this picture is given in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Plate XII., vol. i. p. 480, 2nd Edition.—ED.

prized in Egypt. The Egyptians dyed their eyebrows and eyelids with the black cosmetic, and painted under both eyes a green stripe as a strange aid to beauty. The paint was furnished by the Arabs or Shasu, who inhabited the land called Pitshu (the special Egyptian name for the land better known as Midian), and, with their laden beasts, took the desert route from the East to Egypt, to traffic with the inhabitants of the Nile valley. Thus far the remarkable picture of Beni-Hassan may serve as an *illustration* of the history of the immigration of the sons of Jacob into Egypt; only we must guard ourselves against falling into the strange error of wishing to discover in this picture a direct reference to the account in the Holy Scriptures.

We cannot finish the history of the times of king Usurtasen II. without once more returning to the long inscription of Beni-Hassan, which describes to us the life and services of Khnumhotep and his sons, in constant connection with the kings of the country, who at various times manifested their favour for the family by the bestowal of dignities and honours. Khnumhotep having passed in review himself and his own history in the portions of the inscription already translated, the attention of the reader is directed to the distinctions conferred on his descendants. Of these Khnumhotep gives the following account :—

'(121) And another distinction was accorded me. (122) My eldest son Nekht, a child of Kheti, was made (123) governor of the nome of Cynopolis, (124) on account of the inheritance from his mother's father. (125) Thus he became one of the king's

friends; (126) he was made governor of the region (127) of the South. He was counted in the number (128) of noble lords by the Holiness of (129) the king (130–131) USURTASEN II. He (the king) left behind (132) his memorial in the nome of Cynopolis, for he restored (133) what he had found destroyed. Taking possession (134) of one town after another, he caused (135) his border-mark to be fixed in order to settle the taxation (136) according to the income (137), setting up a boundary pillar (138) of his southern limit, and erecting the northern one, (139) according to the quarter of the heavens. And he assigned the surface (140) of the uncultivated fields, containing (141) as many as fifteen boundary stones, and he assigned the surface (142) of his cultivable lands; in the north was his frontier, (143) at the nome of Oxyrhynchus. He caused to be distributed (144) the great river over its territory. (145) His extreme western boundary began from the nome of Cynopolis, extending up (146) to the country of the West.'

In spite of several difficulties which are inseparable from this archaic language, thus much is evident, that Nekht, son of Khnumhotep, was named governor of the Cynopolitan nome, situated to the north of the nome of Mah, and that he had at the same time conferred upon him the dignity of governor of the 'Southern land,' by which term apparently several nomes to the south of the Oxyrhynchite were designated.

V. KHA-KAU-RA USURTASEN III. was the name of the preceding king's successor. His name had a high renown in the most glorious period of the Egyptian empire, for he distinguished himself above all other kings by his power and wisdom. His fame long survived him. The Egyptians themselves believed that they honoured the great king Usurtasen III. best, by regarding him as a god to whom they built temples and offered sacrifices.

His martial deeds began by expeditions directed against the unhappy negro-land of Kush, with the view of once for all placing an insurmountable barrier in the way of the predatory inroads of the dark-coloured population of those lands. All his predecessors had extended their campaigns comparatively far southwards; some had even reached the Second Cataract; but the complete subjection of the inhabitants of these regions was far from being accomplished.

The inscription on a stone which was discovered on the island of Elephantiné by an English traveller, beginning with the words 'year 8, month Epiphi,' of our Usurtasen III., 'the friend of the goddess Sati, of Elephantiné,' names expressly this precise time, when 'the king took the field to smite the miserable land of Kash.' On another inscription, found at Abydus, mention is made of a similar campaign of the king against 'the miserable Kash,' under the date of the nineteenth year of the king's reign. Of these two campaigns, the first receives a confirmation from the inscription on a memorial stone which was found in the neighbourhood of Wady-Halfah. In that region, beyond the Second Cataract, king Usurtasen built on the heights sanctuaries and fortresses, which commanded both banks of the river. The remains still exist in our day in the fortresses of Semneh[5] and Koummeh, as they are called. The origin of both denominations must be

[5] Semneh is in about 21° 30′ N. lat., about 35 miles above Wady-Halfah, and 30 miles above the Second Cataract. It overlooks some small rapids, not to be confounded with the Third Cataract, which is far higher up the river in about 19° 30′ N. lat. —ED.

very ancient, since the words Samina and Kummu are found written on the walls of the temple of Semneh, in Greek characters before the Christian era. Two huge pillars of stone, covered with long inscriptions, served formerly as boundary-marks between the Egyptian empire and the negro-land called Heh. Both were set up here, on the territory of the above-named fortresses, under the reign and by the order of Usurtasen III., as a conspicuous warning to the dusky-coloured races of what is now the land of Nubia.

The inscription which we read on the older stone begins with the short but expressive words:—

'Here is the southern frontier, which was fixed in the eighth year under the reign of king Usurtasen III., the dispenser of life for ever, in order that it may not be permitted to any negro to cross it, with the exception of the ships which are laden with cattle, goats, and asses belonging to the negroes, and except the negroes who come to trade by barter in the land of Aken. To these, on the contrary, every favour shall be allowed. But otherwise it shall not be permitted to any vessel of the negroes to touch at the land of Heh on its voyage, nevermore!'

The second inscription reads as follows:[6]—

'In the 16th year, in the 3rd month of the winter season, I fixed the southern boundary at the land of Heh. I fixed my boundary by advancing upwards like my predecessors. I extended it. It was my firm resolve—I who became king—to declare how I would act, and what should be done by my hand according to the desire of my heart. A conqueror should avoid concealment: his speech should not rest in his heart. The inglorious waits still and is full of gentleness, without finding gentleness from his enemy. When any one has achieved his purpose, then let him refrain from silence, let him give an account how all has been done. For if

[6] The Egyptian text of this inscription, with a literal version, is given in Vol. II., Appendix (C), as an example of the system of transliteration, and of the difficulties of interpreting the inscriptions of this early age.—Ed.

silence follows him who has attained success, that is as much as to strengthen the courage of his adversary. To be strong means going forward to his goal; to be weak means turning backwards; to be cowardly means letting himself be taken upon his border. Therefore, because the negro people had heard what went forth out of my mouth, they made no reply. He who made an attack upon them put them to flight. They turned their back and fled away. They kept far from him who attacked them. They were therefore not men of manly spirit; and that means to be wanting in strength and courage. I beheld them, not only in imagination. I took their women, I led away their inhabitants who had gone out to their fountains. Their bulls were slaughtered, their corn was destroyed, and fire was set to it. I swear by my father that I speak the truth. There is no ground for contradicting the utterance of my mouth.

'Every one of my sons, who maintains this boundary which I have fixed, he shall be called my son, who was born of me. My son is like the protector of his father (i.e. Horus), like the preserver of the boundary of his father (i.e. Osiris). But if he abandons it, so that he does not fight upon it, he is not my son, he is not then born of me.

'I have caused my own image to be set up on this boundary which I have fixed, not that ye may (only) worship it (the image) upon it (the boundary), but that ye may fight upon it.'

Without doubt Aken is the old name of the country of Nubia, which Pliny (vi. 184), in his enumeration of the towns of Ethiopia discovered by the explorers under Nero, calls by the designation of Acina; for he mentions it directly after the well-known hill-fortress of Primi (now Qasr Ibrim), and gives it a distance of 310 Roman miles from Syene. The situation of the place agrees exactly with the conditions which necessarily connect it with the Aken or Akin of the times of the third Usurtasen, near the Second Cataract.

The invasion and final conquest of the region of the lower negro-land, Kush or Kash—for so the in-

scriptions of the Twelfth Dynasty expressly denote the theatre of the warlike deeds of the Egyptians of that age—was not effected without cruelty; and the representations on the stone memorial tablets of victory of the sixteenth year of Usurtasen III. give an idea of the way in which the war was carried on against the negroes, which recals the most infamous razzias in the recent history of African warfare. The king, marching into the interior of the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, made the women captives, seized the people who had gone to their wells, drove away the cattle, and set fire to the standing crops.

Such a merciless and continued persecution of the always oppressed inhabitants of Nubia on the part of the Pharaohs must at last have intimidated them, and induced them to submit to Egyptian supremacy and protection, and to endure the inevitable loss of their freedom and independence. Usurtasen gained his object, for from Syene to beyond the Second Cataract the Nile valley and the country on both sides of the river became part of the Egyptian empire, and the gods of the Pharaohs took up their abode in the newly-founded temples of the territory which had just been won.

As the conqueror of the land, Usurtasen must needs have been held in very special honour by his contemporaries as well as by later generations; and we can quite understand that a grateful posterity should accord him the honours of a guardian deity of Nubia. More than fifteen centuries after the events which had been enacted on the Nubian territory

under Usurtasen III., the great Thutmes III.—the true Alexander of Egyptian history—erected on the spot, where his great predecessor had raised the fortress of Semneh, a temple which was consecrated for ever to the memory of the divine king, Usurtasen III., as well as to the newly-recognized divinity of the country, Totun, a special form of the ram-headed Khnum of Elephantiné. The Egyptians of the olden time, who visited the place, did not fail to testify their respect to the king as a god, and to leave behind the token of their visit in solemn inscriptions. Thus, for example, we read at Semneh the following inscription:—

'O ye princes who approach this memorial stone, who love and invoke with praise the gods of your country, who intend to reach again your dwelling-places, say here your prayers before the Nubian god Totun . . . . and before the deceased king Usurtasen III., that they may graciously permit the usual funeral offering in memory of such a one.'

The same king Thutmes III. did not omit to consecrate standing altars to these gods Totun and Usurtasen, and to the above-mentioned god Khnum, and to institute sacrifices to them, to be offered on the anniversaries, and at the times of the principal feasts of the Egyptian calendar, by the priests of the temple of Semneh. In this way, to use an Egyptian expression, Thutmes III. caused the memory of his renowned ancestor to live again, caused him 'to be born a second time.'

The dedicatory inscription, which the Alexander of ancient Egypt set up to immortalize this event, speaks as follows:—

'In the year 2. on the 7th day of the month Paoni, under the reign of his Holiness king Thutmes III., the friend of the Nubian god Totun, his Holiness the king spoke thus to Nahi, the king's son and governor of the regions of the South: Thou shalt cause to be engraved on stone the sacrifices which are to be offered to the king Usurtasen III. . . . . in the temple of his father Totun. A grateful son has thus rendered homage to his ancestors who begat him.'

After several words, the mutilated state of which unfortunately interrupts the continuous translation, the text continues:—

'At the feast of the beginning of the (first) season of the year: 15 bushels of dourra to his father Totun, and 645 bushels 20 pecks of dourra . . . . [to his father] Khnum.

'At the feast of the commencement of the (second) season of the year: 50 bushels of dourra for Totun, and 425 bushels 20 pecks of dourra yearly to his father Khnum.

'A bull at the feast of the new year to his father Totun.

'A bull . . . .

'A bull at the yearly feast of the conquest of the Annu (mountaineers of Nubia), which happened on the 21st Pharmuthi, for Totun.

'At the feast of the commencement of the (third) season of the year: 50 bushels of dourra for Totun, 204 bushels 15 pecks of dourra yearly for Khnum, on account of the conquest of the Nubian mountaineers.

'Eight vestments of byssus stuff.

'At the feast which falls in the month Pakhons, a bull for his father Khnum, and 26 bushels of dourra yearly for the queen . . . . 26 bushels yearly for the queen Mersekher on account of the punishment of the nations, and 134 bushels and 10 pecks yearly for the king Usurtasen III.'

There are a great number of memorials and inscriptions, which are dedicated to the memory of king Usurtasen III., or originate from officials who lived in his reign, and devoted their science and industry to the service of the king in the execution of

public works or sacred buildings. The materials for building were furnished, as usual, by the productive and inexhaustible quarries of Hammamat, to which the master quarrymen proceeded, accompanied by thousands, in order to cut the stone from the rock. Active life then reigned in the valley called Rohan, where the inscriptions have faithfully preserved to the present day the remembrance of the ancient visitors, and of the worship of the great mountain god, Khem-Pan of Coptos. We quote a rock-tablet of the fourteenth year of the king's reign, in order to lay before the reader an example of that kind of memorial inscription from these distant ages of Egyptian history :—

'In the year 14, on the 18th day of the month Khoiakh, in the reign of king Usurtasen III., the ever-living, the friend of the god Khem-hor of the city of Coptos, his Holiness gave orders for the departure to the country of Rohan, in order to execute a monument which his Holiness had consecrated to the god Harshef, the lord of the city of Heracleopolis-Magna.'

As on all such occasions elsewhere, the official to whom the work was entrusted does not fail to let his own special merit be known, and urgently to recommend himself to posterity by the highest self-praise.

VI. Ra-n-maat[7] Amenemhat III. are the names of the succeeding king, whose remembrance has been preserved for more than twenty centuries, less by the fame of the successful wars he waged than by works of peace which conferred lasting blessings. For he is the founder of the wonderful Lake Mœris,

[7] This regal name signified 'sun of justice.'—French Edition.

of whose vastness and utility the ancients could not say enough, so full were they of praise for the construction and the constructor of this artificial sea.

The prosperity of Egypt depended in ancient times, and still depends in our own day, on the fertility of the soil produced by the regularly recurring inundations of the Nile. If these keep within due bounds, they spread rich blessings over the country. If they rise above the height which is necessary to convey sufficient water to the land, they act perniciously and destroy the hopes of the cultivator. If, on the contrary, the rising water stops below the required height, sterility and famine are the natural consequence of the drought. In all ages, therefore, the care of the inhabitants was directed to the state of the Nile at the time of the inundation, in order to find ways and means to divert the mass of water the moment it had reached its due height, or to spread it over the fields. For these purposes dams and sluices, canals and reservoirs, rendered the most valuable service. As, in our advanced times, the beginning and increase of the rising of the Nile is telegraphed from Khartoum to Cairo, in order to place the Government betimes in a position to estimate the coming volume of water, and to make the necessary preparations for the approaching inundation, so, in the days of king Amenemhat and his successors, the southernmost point of the empire—the newly-founded fortress at Semneh—served as a point of observation for the beginning and increase of the inundation. From this place news was sent to the lower-lying

districts. On the rocks of Semneh and Koummeh the highest point of the inundation was always noted for comparison, and the mark was accompanied by a corresponding inscription. Thus we read at one place on the rock :—

'Height of the Nile in the year 14, under the reign of his Holiness king Amenemhat III., the ever-living.'

In several instances, together with the name of the king, we find stated the names and titles of the officers who, before the setting in of the inundation, had to examine the gradual increase of the river, and to take the necessary measures. The great number of observations of this kind, which M. Lepsius was the first to discover and collect on the spot, enables us to mention the very remarkable fact, that in the times of the Twelfth Dynasty, that is, forty-three centuries before our days, the highest rise was 8·17 mètres (nearly 27 feet) above the greatest height of the inundation in these days; and that the average height of the Nile, when Amenemhat III. was king and lord in Egypt, surpasses that of our times by about seven mètres (above 11½ feet).

The special attention which this king so evidently devoted to the observation of the rise of the Nile is proved most clearly by his construction of the enormous basin which was excavated by the work of men's hands in the modern province of the Fayoum, for the reception and storage of the superfluous waters of the inundation. This lake, which teems with fish, was protected on all sides by artificial dams, and communicated with the river by a canal; and locks al-

lowed the influx or the complete shutting off of the waters. The ancients gave to the basin the name of Lake Mœris, because, as they report, this was the name of its constructor, an old king Mœris. We must, however, add this king to the legends and inventions wherewith the Greek mind sought to animate the dead world of Egyptian antiquity which they did not understand, for it is proved that the native designation for such a basin—*meri*, or *mi-uer*—served as the foundation for creating a legendary king Mœris. Moreover, the Arab-Coptic appellation of the district in which the artificial lake was situated—now called Fayoum—is easily explained by the older name Phayum, i.e. 'the lake country.'

For a long time enquirers were in doubt concerning the situation of the lake, the site and bounds of which appeared as good as obliterated. The attempt was made to recognize it in the large natural lake situated further to the west, the Birket-el-qeroun of the Arabs, till at last the investigations of M. Linant-Bey succeeded in discovering unmistakable traces of the ancient Lake Mœris. In consequence of these researches it was proved that it had been excavated in the south-eastern part of the Fayoum, where the depression of the ground and the ruins of ancient dykes exactly designate its site. When the inundation was at its height, the sluices of the canal were opened, and the waters of the river rushed into the lake. When the floods had fallen to their lowest state, the sluices were again opened, and the lake irrigated the lands of the neighbouring district.

The same king built, in the neighbourhood of the Lake Mœris, that Labyrinth so famed in antiquity as a splendid building, as well as the pyramid, his own monument, not far from this edifice. The wonderful structure of the Labyrinth, which is utterly ignored on the Egyptian monuments, consisted, according to the description of Herodotus (ii. 148), of three thousand halls and chambers, half of which were above the ground, and half underneath it, with twelve covered courts, the entrances to which were opposite each other. According to Strabo (xvi. pp. 786, 810), the Labyrinth, like the great kingdom in little, was composed of as many palaces as there were nomes, namely, twenty-seven. The Greek geographer's description of the place, specifying the enormous mass of the blocks of stone, makes the whole appear as a most astonishing work, of which, I may add at once, nothing remains at the present day but small heaps of ruins. Fragments of stone, covered with traces of the names of Amenemhat III., and of his successor, queen Sebeknofru—this is all that remains near the pyramid of Ellahoun as the last farewell greeting of the once celebrated Egyptian Labyrinth to the latest posterity.

The province of the Fayoum, which, from the times of the above-mentioned king, acquired, through the presence of Lake Mœris, a peculiar importance in a political point of view, has nevertheless not had the fortune to be specially mentioned in the inscriptions on the monuments. The reason is simply this, that the province and its inhabitants were detested as

hostile to Osiris. For in the Fayoum the god Sebek and his sacred animal, the crocodile, were held in high honour; but the pious followers of Osiris recognized, as hidden in both, the mysterious emblem of the god Set, the Egyptian Satan. Thus it is satisfactorily explained why, in the lists of the nomes of Upper Egypt, the district of Fayoum was entirely struck out as hostile to Osiris.[8] But what the monuments appear to have therefore covered with eternal silence has nevertheless been partially explained by the recent discovery of a fragmentary papyrus, now in the Egyptian Museum at Boulaq; for the contents of this document grant us an insight into many details well worth knowing, which are most intimately connected with the lake and the buildings and works in its vicinity. To pass at once to the main point, be it observed that the papyrus represents to us in a plan the long-extending Lake Mœris, together with the canal connecting it with the Nile. Round the basin the unknown draughtsman has tried to reproduce a number of towns and sanctuaries, accompanied by hieroglyphic explanations, which are of inestimable value for understanding the plan, and for a knowledge of the various places and their worship. By the help of these indications, we are enabled at once to ascertain the different names of the lake with all needful clearness. It is sometimes called She, i.e. 'the basin or lake;' sometimes Sheuer, 'the large lake-basin;' sometimes finally Mi-uer

[8] 'Hence it is that we know nothing [i.e. from the monuments] either of the Labyrinth, or the pyramid, or the towns, or the worship, in the neighbourhood of the lake.'—FRENCH EDITION.

(Mœris!) 'the great lake.' From the most usual designation, She, the country was called Ta-She, 'the land of the lake,' of which the Arab-Coptic word Fayoum is an exact translation. Another appellation of the lake, including the canal, is Hunt, 'the water-dam' or 'weir,' elsewhere also a common expression, which was applied in the list of nomes to the great reservoir in the upper part of each district. The place at which the canal leading from the Nile entered the valley formed by the great mountain basin of the Fayoum was called Ape-tash—i.e. 'the defile of the land of the lake.' Here was 'the opening (of the sluice) of the canal'—the Ra-hunt or La-hunt, from which word certainly comes the modern name of the place, Ellahoun (with the Arabic article *el* before Lahunt), which lies near the spot in question. The same word is beyond all doubt hidden in the name of the Labyrinth, according to the Greek rendering, which by the mouth of the Egyptians must have been pronounced Rape-ro-hunt, or Lape-ro-hunt, that is 'the temple at the sluice of the canal.'[9]

Proceeding from the canal, in a straight direction westward, we arrive at the capital of the old 'country

[9] The letters *r* and *l* are represented by the same hieroglyphic sign.—FRENCH EDITION.

The interchangeability of these letters is an elementary fact in comparative philology; and some nations, as well as individuals, are incapable of distinguishing them. Just as we have heard a child say—'Rook at the ramprighter, running up the radder to right the ramp'—so in the liquid Malay speech the name of *Honolulu* in the Sandwich Islands is indifferently pronounced *-ruru*, *-rulu*, *-luru*.—ED.

of the lake,' in which the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, with active zeal, founded temples, and raised stone obelisks to the god Sebek (with the head of a crocodile), and all his kindred deities, Amonao, Hershef, Sokar, Hor, and others. Situated in the neighbourhood of the present capital of the Fayoum, called Medinet-el-Fayoum, or 'chief town of the Fayoum,' the city bore, in ancient times, the name of Shat (with an uncertain meaning—cutting, excavation, well, canal?), or Pi-Sebek, i.e. 'the dwelling of Sebek,' ; whence the Greeks called it by the corresponding name of Crocodilopolis, or 'the city of the crocodile:' for, as Strabo rightly remarks, 'in this district the crocodile is much venerated.' An animal of the species, specially selected and called by the name of Suchos (that is, Sebek or Subek, with the Greek ending *-os* added), was kept there in a lake, and fed by visitors.

The large stones, which the architects required for the construction of the Labyrinth and the other sanctuaries in the district of the Fayoum, came from a great distance. The valley of Hammamat yielded the most beautiful and most durable blocks, as appears with all certainty from the inscriptions in the quarries there. Thus, for example, in the second year of the reign of Amenemhat III., a court official, bearing the same name, arrived there, accompanied by a sufficient number of men to execute the works with which he was charged. In a memorial inscription of fourteen lines he first vaunts the greatness of his king, 'who

has smitten the negroes and opened up the world.' According to the contents of another rock-tablet in Hammamat, the king went personally, in the ninth year of his reign, to the rocky valley of Rohan, to give the necessary commands for the quarrying of stones for the construction of monuments in Crocodilopolis, among which is mentioned a statue of the Pharaoh, five cubits in height. The inscription testifies, in the sequel of the record, that a certain Usurtasen was entrusted with the oversight and direction of the works. And many other rock-tablets likewise mention the king's sending his architects to Rohan to quarry stone, which the sculptors transformed into statues and other works of their art, with a skilful hand.

Towards the east also, in the mines and quarries of the peninsula of Sinai, which had already been worked in the most ancient times of Egyptian history, the plainest traces of the activity of the subjects of the third Amenemhat are visible. Inscriptions, dating from the 2nd to the 44th year of his reign, bear witness to the stay of workpeople in these deserts, which were extremely dismal for a long sojourn. The distinguished envoys of the king, such as treasurers, artists, officials of the quarrymen, and other persons who had any share whatever in carrying out the commands of Pharaoh, never left these parts without perpetuating on the rock the remembrance of their stay. Each mentions his title, his name, and his family, and invokes the gods of the region, above all, the divine Hathor, 'the lady of the Mafkat-land,'

Supt Hor, 'the lord of the East,' and the very ancient local god of the peninsula of Sinai, king Senoferu, who had almost become fabulous. In an inscription of the second year of the king, on a rock-tablet at the entrance of Wady-Magharah, on a bas-relief which shows Amenemhat III. as king of Lower Egypt standing before the deities just named, there is express mention of sending away mafkat (turquoises) and khomet (copper). But to what the appended number 736 relates, remains uncertain.

The highest date, that of the year 44, is contained in the memorial inscription of a certain Sebek-hir-hib, son of Hont, which exists at Sarbut-el-Khadem.[1] He relates how he opened new mines for the king, and on this occasion offered rich sacrifices to the tutelar goddess of the place, 'Hathor, the lady of Mafkat.' In the year 42 similar works had been performed by another official named Sebekhotep, as we learn from an inscription in the Wady-Magharah.

I have already shown how the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty addressed themselves with especial zeal to the worship of Osiris and the maintenance of his temple at Abydus. A new and most convincing testimony is borne to this by a monument discovered last year (1875) in the necropolis of Abydus. It is the tombstone of a certain Schotep-ab-ra, who was buried there, and who during his life, under the reigns of the kings Usurtasen III. and Amenemhat III., was charged by his sovereigns with the care of the temple and the worship of the god 'Osiris in the

[1] Champollion, *Notices Descript.* ii. p. 691.

West,' and of the jackal-headed guardian of the dead, 'Apheru.' As is clearly proved by the abundant number of inscriptions with which the stone, now exhibited in the museum at Boulaq, is covered on all sides, Sehotep-ab-ra had received the commission to put in order the service at the places of the secret mysteries in the temple of Abydus, to regulate the feasts of the gods, to superintend the priests, and in his especial province as a skilful artist to build for Osiris the sacred temple-barque, and to cover it with ornamental painting. In language as choice as it is very difficult to understand, rich in poetical turns and uncommon words, the deceased exhibits himself as a master of worldly wisdom. He introduces his phrases rich in meaning with the words:—

'I say a great thing; listen! I will teach you the nature of the Eternal One;'

and he ends his wise remarks with the usual exhortation to survivors to visit his grave and repeat the prayer of the sacrifices of the dead:—

'Ye priests of Osiris in the West in the city of Abydus, ye temple servants of the same god, ye priests of king Amenemhat III., the eternal and ever-living, and of king Usurtasen III., the defunct, and ye temple servants of the same (kings), ye inhabitants of this city and every one in the nome of Thinis, who shall visit this grave, travelling this way or that way, be sure you love your king, be sure you glorify the gods of your country, and then will your children sit in your seat. Ye who enjoy life and do not yet know death, repeat the prayer of the offerings for the dead for the name of (here follow his titles) Sehotep-ab-ra.'

VII. AMENEMHAT IV. and (VIII.) the queen SEBEK-NOFRU-RA conclude the Twelfth Dynasty.

The monuments throw no special light on the history of the king and his sister the queen Sebek-nofru-ra[2] by any inscriptions of real value. This princess was an heiress-daughter, like Nitaker at the close of the Sixth, and Nofertari at the close of the Seventeenth Dynasty. The inheritance of the empire passed by marriage to a new family, which will occupy us more particularly in the chapter on the Thirteenth Dynasty. The word Sebek, which appears in the name of the queen, reminds us again of the god of the Fayoum, or 'country of the Lake,' which through the works of Amenemhat III. had obtained such great significance for Egypt. The proper names compounded with Sebek become constantly more frequent towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and prepare us for the many kings named Sebekhotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

We cannot take leave of this very remarkable period of the history of the Egyptian kingdom, without casting back a glance on the great events which so signally distinguish the Middle Empire at its entry into the world.

Under the rulers who composed the Twelfth Dynasty, the frontiers of Egypt were extended towards the South as far as the Second Cataract. Above this

[2] According to the monuments the name Sebek-nofru was borne by several ladies of this epoch.—FRENCH EDITION.

the two fortresses of Semneh and Koummeh formed the frontier, towards the negro-lands of Heh and Akin. The peninsula of Sinai was likewise subject to the Egyptian sceptre. Officials of the king, supported by an adequate military force, maintained the Pharaonic sovereignty in the mountains of the Mafkat country.

The Egyptians kept up a very active commerce not only with this region, but also with the tribes of Libya on the West, and on the East with the inhabitants of Palestine and the adjoining countries. The immigration into Egypt of single persons and families of these neighbouring territories is proved by paintings and inscriptions in the sepulchral chambers of this time.

The light-coloured Libyans descended into the Nile valley to entertain the play-loving populace with warlike games and dances full of agility; the dark-coloured representatives of the inhabitants of the negro-land of Kush served the great lords of the country in the capacity of slaves; and the Asiatic neighbours of the kingdom presented themselves at the eastern frontier—which was secured by strong fortresses with garrisons against their entrance without permission or their sudden attacks—to beg for admission in the most civil manner, and to carry on trade on the banks of the Nile. The Egyptian empire appeared to the world of that time as the centre of civilization, and of all progress in the provinces of intellectual, artistic, and commercial activity. Thus it could not fail to make an impression on foreigners, and the neighbouring nations were led to look up to

the Egyptians as distinguished and cultivated people. And in fact such an opinion of Egypt was well founded and well deserved; for intellectual life was developed in its full compass; they strove after moral elevation; schools were established in the country; and wisdom, divine and human, was taught in the colleges of the holy servants of the gods. The natural sources of well-being, which depended on agriculture, were improved and extended by artificial constructions, with the purpose of making use of the periodic inundations of the Nile as necessity required. The whole territory of the Egyptian land was divided into districts; inscribed stones set up on the boundary lines separated the adjacent territories from each other. Written registers, which were laid up in the royal palace, gave information as to the area, the boundaries, and water supply of the several nomes. The kings built temples and raised monuments 'to their names,' in honour of the divinities, and in memory of themselves. They caused towering pyramids to be erected for their sepulchral mounds; and the host of great personages, for the most part related to the royal family, prepared their graves in deep pits in the mountains, and constructed over the grave halls of sacrifice and chambers, in which the sculpture and painting of that time developed all their art and splendour. In these rock-hewn halls, adorned with abundant inscriptions, the different branches of human industry were reproduced with the living expression of action, in multiform contemporary pictures, for the instruction of future generations, and for a delight

to the eyes of contemporaries who still breathed in the light of the sun. They worked, with the help of tools unknown to us, the quarries of rich and costly stone in the rocky valleys of Hammamat; they hewed rose-coloured and black granite out of the Red Mountain in the territory of the city of Syene, at the southern boundary of the kingdom; they sought for the veins of gold in the waterless deserts of the adjacent land of Nubia; and excavated the rocky mountains of the peninsula of Sinai to extract precious turquoises and useful copper for their own wants.

In the times which comprise the history of the Twelfth Dynasty the centre of gravity of the Egyptian state was situated in Middle Egypt.[3] Two cities of that territory, Crocodilopolis, the city of Sebek, on the shores of Lake Mœris, and Heracleopolis 'the Great' (whose ancient site is now indicated by the position of the Arab town of Ahnas), rose rapidly to an importance, of the extent of which (besides the few ruins of their past state) we can only judge by the information surviving for us in the monuments.

Art, in the different spheres of its activity, reached a height and a perfection which we cannot better describe than in the words in which M. de Rougé, that master of our science, who was too soon taken from us, has expressed his sagacious judgment. 'That long succession of generations,' says the learned enquirer, 'the date of which we are no longer able precisely to deter-

[3] The part of Egypt better known in classical history by the Greek name of the Heptanomis, 'the district of Seven Nomes.'—FRENCH EDITION.

mine, witnessed various and changing phases in the development of Egyptian art. Our museums contain examples sufficient in number and style to enable us to follow the principal variations. The origin of this art is unknown to us; it begins with the monuments of the Fourth Dynasty, the first to which we can assign a certain rank, in a state decidedly advanced in many respects. Architecture already shows an inconceivable perfection with regard to the working and building up blocks of great dimensions; the passages in the interior of the Great Pyramid remain a model of exact "joiner's work" which has never been surpassed. We are obliged to guess at the exterior arrangement and ornamentation of the temples of this first period, and to restore them from the bas-reliefs of the tombs or the decoration of the sarcophagi. This style of architecture was simple, but in the highest degree noble; the straight line and the play of outline in the outer surfaces formed the whole force of the decoration. One form of ornament alone gives a certain life to these arrangements; namely, two lotus leaves placed opposite to each other.

'The human form, alike in the statues and the sculptures in relief, is distinguished by somewhat broad and thick-set proportions; it seems that in the course of centuries the race became thinner and more slender under the influence of the soil and climate. In the most ancient monuments, the imitation of nature was aimed at with greater simplicity, and with a truer regard to proportion: in the execution of the single parts, the muscles especially stand out more power-

fully, and are strongly indicated. The human figures preserve this character till near the end of the Twelfth Dynasty; from this time forward they become more slender and taller.

'Architecture had already made a great forward step towards ornamentation. We find at this time the first columns which have been preserved in Egypt to our days; thick, fluted, and with a simple abacus as capital, they resemble most strikingly the earliest Doric columns.

'The sculptures in relief, without a trace of perspective in the composition, are in the old empire often of incredible delicacy. They were always painted over with colours. There are examples among them in which the freedom of the attitudes and the truth of the movements promise to Egyptian art a great future, very different from that which was reserved for it in later centuries. The statues of limestone were often entirely painted; the figures of granite were only touched with colour on many parts of the body, such as the eyes, the hair, or also the drapery. The masterpiece of Egyptian art of the old empire is a colossal leg of black granite, in the Berlin Museum, which belonged to a [seated] statue of king Usurtasen I., and was discovered in the ruins of the city of Tanis, in Lower Egypt. This fragment furnishes the most sufficient proof that the first Egyptian school was on a more promising track than that of the second empire.

'The engraving of the inscriptions on these first Egyptian monuments leaves nothing to be desired.

It is generally executed in relief up to the Fifth Dynasty. The characters cut in intaglio of the Twelfth Dynasty have never been surpassed. The stone obelisks of Heliopolis and of the Fayoum authorize us to suppose temples of a grandeur and magnificence in harmony with these fine remains of the Twelfth Dynasty. We know, in fact, that one of the wonders of the world, the Labyrinth of the Fayoum, was constructed by one of these kings.'

Such are the master's observations, to which I only venture to add a few remarks on the Egyptian artists who were the actual authors of those works. In the histories of art in ancient and modern times, without excepting the most recent, a depreciatory sentence is constantly pronounced on the artist of those old days, who, when viewed most favourably, is placed on the same level with a skilful mechanic. We cannot too strongly insist that such a judgment is founded on a complete ignorance of the inmost essence of Egyptian art, or on a superficial and shallow view, which we should not have expected in judges of art. The art of Egypt is art in the noblest sense of the word—let any one look at the heads, so true to life, of the statues of Meidoum (the 'Sheikh-el-Belled'), of king Khephren, and of the Pharaohs of the new empire, and then maintain the contrary!—but this art is *Egyptian*, that is to say, it is bound by fetters which the artist durst not throw off for fear of clashing with traditional prescriptions and ancient usage and precedent. The Egyptian artist, as well as the master in the old history of Greek art, had hovering

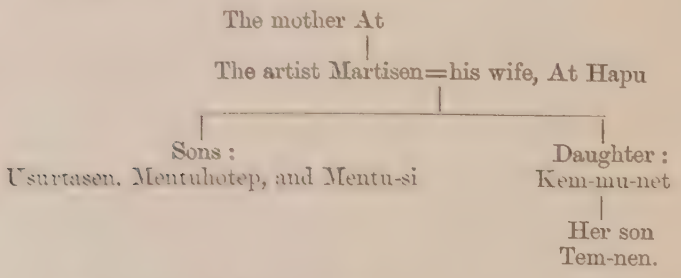
in his mind higher ideals of the nature and essence of noble works, than the cavillers trained in 'the Greek school' alone can dream of. In this respect we agree, with the fullest conviction, in the practical explanation and criticism with which Lepsius, in his suggestive work 'On some Egyptian Art-forms and their Development,' has encountered these eminent critics of Egyptian art.

In order to characterize the mechanical style of Egyptian art, attention has sometimes been called to the remarkable fact, that history has not transmitted to us a single name of any Egyptian master. This is true for those who are strangers to the contents of the Egyptian inscriptions, and therefore cannot know that the artist was the most honoured man in the kingdom, standing near to the Pharaoh, who poured his favour in a full stream on the man of 'enlightened spirit and skilfully working hand.' The artists themselves tell us this, and boast themselves of their works and the means for creating them, with which reflection and inventive genius provided them. To mention one example: let us recal the words on the tomb and memorial stone[4] of an old Egyptian master, named Martisen, who lived in the days of king Neb-kheru-ra Mentu-hotep;[5] that is to say, who thought and wrought as an artist forty-four centuries before our time. He calls himself 'a master among those who understand art, and a sculptor,' who 'was a wise artist in his art.' He relates in succession his ac-

[4] Exhibited in the Louvre, C 14.

[5] Dynasty XI.; see p. 131.

quirements in the making of works of sculpture in every attitude, according to the prescribed custom and measure: and he mentions, as his particular invention, an etching in colours (if I have rightly understood the expression), 'which is neither consumed by fire nor washed off by water;' and he adds the further explanation, that 'no man has arisen who has been able to do this, with the sole exception of himself and the eldest son of his race, whom God's will has created;' but that 'he has arisen able to do this, and the efforts of his hand have been admired in masterly works in all sorts of precious stones, from gold and silver to ivory and ebony.' The son thus named bore the name of Usurtasen, and belonged to a family of artists, whose pedigree, according to the data on the stone, is as follows:—



Martisen and his son Usurtasen, beyond all doubt, opened the age when art flourished highest in the old empire, under the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, whose taste for art is attested at every step by the monuments of their time. It will be reserved for future generations to compose from the inscriptions the succession of artists and their families, who con-

tributed to this flourishing condition, and to enumerate their performances. For the exact knowledge of this particular branch of human activity, the deciphering still presents as yet certain gaps, so that we of the present day must renounce the task of rightly comprehending its full extent. Only science need not and must not be a silent witness of those unintelligible complaints which are raised against the essential character of Egyptian art; she will and must loudly raise her voice, to prove that even the dead stones speak to us with living voice. Honour, therefore, to the most ancient art, honour to the first artists, whom we have principally to thank for the legacy which has been bequeathed to us of the youthful history of humanity.

CHAPTER X.

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

Fragments and patchwork wherever we look! For the hope with which we left the times of the Amenemhats and Usurtasens, and joyfully turned our watchful and expectant gaze to the immediate future of the history of the Egyptian empire and its further efforts for development, is grievously disappointed through the want of instructive monuments. The Table of Kings of Abydus passes with a sudden leap over this wide chasm, which intervenes between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties, since it ranks the first king of the latter dynasty after the princess Sebek-nofru-ra. The traditions of the ancients, derived from the historical data in the work of Manetho about the period of which we are treating, serve up to us error and confusion, instead of truth and clearness. The often-mentioned and priceless Book of Kings of the Turin papyrus would therefore be the only source which might serve us as a guide in this dark labyrinth; but a glance at the parts of it which contain the list of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty shows us at once frightful gaps in the mutilated and tattered papyrus. Fate has thus done its worst to place the greatest difficulties in the way of the solu-

tion of this question, and the hard task is laid on human sagacity, of collecting the slight sparks, in order to kindle a light which may illumine the darkness of five hundred years. With what active zeal has science endeavoured to fill up the huge gaps! How has she sought for a firm point, which might serve her as a fulcrum! All, however, has been in vain, and only the hope remains, that we may at length some day gain the solution of the riddle from hidden and as yet undiscovered memorials.

All that the investigation has thus far succeeded in attaining is limited to the well-grounded belief, that long after the conclusion of the Twelfth Dynasty native kings ruled with unlimited power in the land, until new lords, of foreign origin, already settled in the eastern parts of the Egyptian lowlands, gradually drove back the old race of kings, so as to establish the right of conquest over the true heirs of the throne.[1]

Before we undertake the task of laying before the reader the history of these foreign conquerors according to the account of Manetho, we will not neglect to give here, first of all, the succession of the

[1] In the French edition the above passage runs thus:—'Tout ce que nous savons aujourd'hui, grâce aux recherches minutieuses des moindres traces monumentales de cette époque, se restreint à la conviction que longtemps encore après la fin de la 12e dynastie, des rois indigènes exerçaient le pouvoir pharaonique sur les deux parties de l'empire égyptien jusqu'à ce qu'un peuple de race étrangère venant du côté de l'orient, franchît la frontière du Delta pour s'emparer des régions de la basse Égypte et finalement pour étendre sa domination sur les nomes de la haute Égypte.'

dynasties, the number of their kings, and the time of their total duration, according to the Manethonian sources, and on the authority of the best and most recent researches.

XIIIth dynasty, of Thebes,	60 kings	453 years.	
XIVth „ of Xoïs,	76 „	484 „	
XVth „ Hyksos,	6 „	260 „	
XVIth „ Hyksos,	? „	251 „	
XVIIth „ of Thebes	? „	? „	

Without stopping to examine and establish the numbers—extant and missing—which, plastic as soft wax, lend themselves to any computation having for its object the restoration of Manetho's lost list of kings—we may with all possible confidence assume, that our science can scarcely be mistaken in arranging the preceding lists and periods in the following orders of succession, parallel to one another.

Legitimate Kings; of Theban Race.[2]

XIIIth dynasty, 60 kings, 453 years.
XVIIth dynasty ; „ ? „

Opposition Kings; of Xoïs.

XIVth dynasty of Xoïs, 76 kings, 484 years.

Foreign Conquerors.

XVth dynasty of Hyksos, 6 kings, 260 years.
XVIth „ „ ? „ 251 „

[2] In the French edition the table is arranged thus :—

Legitimate Dynasties of Diospolis.	*Illegitimate Dynasties.*
XIIIth Dyn. . . . . 60 kings 453 years	XIVth Dyn. of Xoïs, 76 kings, 484 years
	XVth Dyn., of Hyksos, 6 „ 260 „
XVIIth Dyn. . . . . [? years]	XVIth Dyn., of Hyksos, *x* „ 251 „

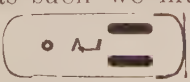
A glance at the mutilated fragments of the Turin Book of Kings will convince the reader that the last five columns of the once complete work were devoted to the memory of the kings who belonged to the foregoing dynasties in the work of Manetho. Their total number in the papyrus may be estimated at about 5 × 30 or 150 names; but it must at the same time appear doubtful whether to apply the calculation to this total number according to human generations. The numbers which have been preserved here and there, as giving the length of reigns of single kings, seldom exceed three or four years. From this we draw the conclusion that the history of Egypt at this period consisted chiefly of revolts and insurrections, of murders and assassinations of various princes, in consequence of which the lengths of their lives and reigns were not governed by the ordinary conditions of the duration of human existence. These were just the times about which Ramses III. remarks in the 'Harris Papyrus,' in the British Museum, that 'the land of Kem was in the hands of the princes of the cities of the foreigners, of whom the one neighbour killed the other neighbour.' (See Vol. II. p. 143.)

As we have already remarked, the kings who immediately followed the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty in the kingdom were still in full possession of Upper and Lower Egypt. For a long time the opinion was prevalent, that the Thirteenth Dynasty marked the exact epoch of the invasion of the foreigners, so that these latter must have already gained a firm footing in the Egyptian low country, or at least

on its eastern frontier. In opposition to this, however, we have the well-established fact, that several kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and not only those who were first in order of time, enjoyed in the Delta, on the east frontier, perfect leisure and quiet to erect monuments, the remains of which have been preserved to the present time, and their magnitude and style do not at all point to their having been hastily constructed. In the days of their authors and their erection peaceful times must have prevailed, and nothing warrants the notion of a foreign occupation by the side of native kings. Among the monuments then raised we may mention especially the wonderful stones and statues on the field of Tanis, the Zoan of the Bible, in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory on which the Hyksos kings (as they are called) afterwards pitched their camps, and planned their hostile incursions into the neighbouring region of the low lands, and into the districts of Upper Egypt. The fact is established beyond doubt that this sudden attack of the foreigners must have taken place towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

In the extracts from the work of Manetho, the names of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty are passed over in obstinate silence, as if those who bore them were judged unworthy of historic recollection. The Turin Book of Kings would be therefore the only source from which the void could be supplied, and fortunately the extant fragments are just sufficient to establish some of the most important names, the bearers of which belonged to the family in question.

True to the custom and usage, to which the inscriptions testify a thousand times, of distinguishing the royal persons only by means of the official name, the Turin Book of Kings uses this designation alone, and it is only in a few rare cases that the family name appears within the regal escutcheon.[3] The void is, however, supplied, in the case of no small number of the princes of this dynasty, by the contemporary monuments, which bear double shields. They afford us the certain conviction, that the greater number of the kings of this family bore the name of SEBEK-HOTEP.

Notwithstanding the Theban origin of this race, the numerous Sebek-hoteps, i.e. 'Servants of Sebek' (the monuments have as yet enabled us to recognize seven princes of this name), indicate, not obscurely, their special veneration of that crocodile-headed god, to whom the kings of the preceding dynasty had raised statues of honour and temples in the Fayoum, and in the neighbourhood of the renowned Mœris Lake. We must therefore suppose an intimate connection between the two royal houses of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, and it is probable that queen Sebek-nofru-ra, the heiress of the Twelfth Dynasty, had transmitted the special worship of that god to her son—for as such we must recognize him—king RA-KHU-TAUI,  'the protecting son of the

[3] The French Edition has: 'les noms de famille étant rarement ajoutés à la fin des cartouches.'

land,' whom the Turin papyrus places at the head of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The name Sebekhotep appears not only at this time, but henceforward continually until the commencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

From the extant fragments of the Turin papyrus we are enabled to draw up the following table of the kings who succeeded Sebekhotep I. in the kingdom. These Pharaohs belong to the Thirteenth Dynasty, which, according to the Manethonian record, was composed of sixty names. It is possible that Manetho made a selection from a greater number of kings, who, at any rate, are certified to us on the authority of the papyrus.

The Thirteenth Dynasty, according to the Turin Papyrus.

1. Ra-Khu-taui (Sebekhotep I).
2. Sokhemkara.
3. Ra Amenemhat I.
4. Sehotepabra I.
5. Aufni.
6. Sankhabra.
7. Smenkara.
8. Sehotepabra II.
9. . . . . kara.
10. (one or two names which have been destroyed).
11. Notemabra.
12. Ra Sebekhotep II.
13. Ran-[sen]-eb.
14. Autuabra I.
15. Setef . . . . ra.
16. Ra-Sokhemkhutaui (Sebekhotep III).
17. Rauser. . . . . .
18. Smonkhkara Mermesha.
19. . . . . kara.
20. . . . . user-Ser.

21. Ra Sokhem(suttaui) Sebekhotep IV.
22. Khasesheshra Noferhotep, son of a certain Haankhef.
23. Ra Sahathor.
24. Khanoferra Sebekhotep V.
25. (Khakara ?).
26. Khaankhra (Sebekhotep VI).
27. Khahotepra (Sebekhotep VII.) . 4 y. 8 m. 29 d.
28. Uahabra Aaab . . . . 10 y. 8 m. 18 d.
29. Mernoferra Ai . . . . 13 y. 8 m. 18 d.
30. Merhotepra . . . . . 2 y. 2 m. 9 d.
31. Sankhnefra Utu . . . . 3 y. 2 m. ? d.
32. Mersokhemra Anran . . . 3 y. 1 m. ? d.
33. Sutkara . . . . . ura . . . 5 y. ? m. 8 d.
34. Anemem . . . . . ro.
35–43. (9 or 10 names destroyed.)
44. Merkhoperra.
45. Merka(ra.)
46–50. (destroyed.)
51. . . . . mes.
52. Ra . . . . . maat Aba.
53. . . . . Ra-Uben I.
54–57. (destroyed.)
58. Nahasi-(ra) . . . . . 0 y. ? m. 3 d.
59. Khakherura . . . . . ? y. ? m. 3 d.
60. Nebef-autura . . . . . 2 y. 5 m. 15 d.
61. Sehibra . . . . . 3 y. ? m. ? d.
62. Mertefara . . . . . 3 y. ? m. ? d.
63. Sutkara . . . . . 1 y. ? m. ? d.
64. Nebtefara . . . . . 1 y. ? m. ? d.
65. Ra-Uben II. . . . . 0 y. ? m. ? d.
66–67 (two names destroyed.)
68. . . . . tefara.
69. . . . . Ra Uben (III.).
70. Autuabra II.
71. Herabra.
72. Nebsenra.
73–76. (names destroyed.)
77. Sekhoperenra.
78. Tutkherura.
79. Sankh(ka)ra.

80. Nofertum . . . . . ra.
81. Sokhem . . . . . ra.
82. Ka . . . . . ra.
83. Noferabra.
84. Ra . . . . .
85. Rakha.
86. Nutkara.
87. Smen . . . . .

To these names are added about sixty more, which filled the last two pages of the roll. Most unfortunately almost all the names on these pages are in such a state of ruin and mutilation, that they do not admit of transcription, and still less of any proper comparison (with the names known from other monuments).[4] Only one peculiarity may be stated, that they sometimes begin with the word Sokhem, and sometimes with the character meaning User.

To the names which manifestly belonged to a destroyed part of the foregoing table I have to add another, SEBEK-HOTEP VI., who was more particularly designated in the official cartouche by the name of KHAANKHRA, and whom I have inserted in the proper place by the help of the list of the Royal Ancestors in the chamber of Karnak.[5]

If we now question the monuments as to the royal titles which appear in this long barren list, they very seldom satisfy our curiosity with any valuable result. But it is just because the number of contem-

[4] The added words are from the French Edition.—ED.

[5] This Table of Kings, the ancestors of Thutmes III., is described below, p. 222.—ED.

porary witnesses to this darkest of all chapters of the history of the Egyptian empire is so limited, that their worth increases in the eyes of the enquirer, and their importance for a judgment on the dominion of the Hyksos becomes evidently almost priceless. In the following remarks we will cite the most important monuments of the Thirteenth Dynasty according to their sequence in point of time.[6]

The Genealogical Table,[7] compiled with the assistance of a number of inscriptions containing

[6] The French Edition gives the following example of information derived from the monuments, which is omitted in the German work :—'Thus the 6th king (in the list, p. 214), who bears the official name of *Sankh-ab-ra*, 'who vivifies the heart of Ra,' adopted the three family names *Ameni*, *Antef*, *Amenemhat*, all of which belong to kings of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, and which, besides, occur very frequently on the monuments of persons living at this epoch. The Museum at Boulaq preserves an altar of brown freestone, which is adorned with a dedicatory inscription containing the different titles of this Pharaoh, and at the end we find the three names just cited enclosed in the royal cartouche, and preceded by the characters *sa-ra*, 'son of the sun.' If we may regard the first name, *Ameni*, as the king's principal name, we can establish the fact that the Pharaoh Ameni left a pyramid, the name of which is found in the legend 'the pyramid Khorp (the First) of king Ameni.'

[7] See the Genealogical Table I. at the end of Vol. II. In the French Edition Dr. Brugsch points out that *Mentuhotep*, the founder of the whole family, was not of royal descent, for his style 'father of the divine one' shows that through his marriage with the royal heiress *Aahtabu*, her hereditary right was transmitted to their son *Sebekhotep IV.*; who, in his turn, left only daughters, the eldest of whom, *Aahtabu*, is therefore styled 'princess regnant' (but in the German—Table I.—he has *Regentin*, 'regent,' not *regierend*,

family records, will give the reader an idea of the descent of certain kings from persons not of royal birth, as well as of their entrance into the circle of Pharaonic relationship by marriage with the daughters of the kings. The queen Nubkhas, in the fourth generation on the Table, furnishes a very plain and instructive example.

Among the records which the monuments have preserved to us concerning individual kings of this period, we regard as especially worthy of notice the inscriptions which exist at the most northern and most southern points of the Nubian country: in the one case on the rocky islands at the First Cataract in the neighbourhood of Philæ; in the other case on the stony shores of Semneh and Koummeh above the Second Cataract. At the latter place, SEBEKHOTEP III. (the 16th on the list) did not fail, following the example of his predecessors of the Twelfth Dynasty, to engrave a record of the highest point to which the inundation of the Nile reached in his day. We possess four

'regnant'). A further discussion on some of the succeeding names is not given in the German, because (as it seems) the views there expressed have been modified; but the concluding remarks should not be omitted:—'The foregoing observations may serve as an example of how far the monumental records sometimes allow us to push our studies, by thus revealing to us the most minute details of a genealogy dating from forty centuries before our time, while these same monuments keep a profound silence on the gravest and most important events of history. It will be understood that researches into ages so remote as those which we are discussing depend ultimately on a happy chance, and that the results of all our studies depend almost exclusively on discoveries entirely fortuitous.'—ED.

separate accounts of this sort; that of the third year of his reign reads simply:—

'Height of the Nile in the third year | under the reign of king Sebekhotep III. | the ever-living.'

Ranseneb, a distinguished courtier and commander of the armed forces in the fortress of Sokhemkhakaura, founded by king Usurtasen III., governed in those days the southern portion of the newly conquered country, and in this capacity possessed the right to place his own name by the side of his royal master's.

The 18th king of the list, SMONKHKARA, with the family name MERMESHA (perhaps it may be read Mermenfiu), claims especial attention from the fact that, in the excavations of the field of ruins at Tanis by Mariette-Bey, two monuments came to light, statues of this king of colossal size, and wonderfully perfect in the execution of the several parts. The names of the king are clearly legible in the middle column of the inscriptions. Both statues were formerly set up in the great temple of Patah at Tanis, as witnesses of the undiminished power of Mermesha. The Hyksos prince Apepi, as well as Ramses II., about 400 years later, immortalized themselves by cutting their own names on the monument of this king, as if Mermesha had enjoyed their especial favour or veneration. His name, Mermesha—or however one may prefer to pronounce the last part of it—signifies 'the leader of armies,' or 'captain of warriors.' Instead of assenting to the opinion

that such a designation indicates a troublous and warlike period, we may, on the contrary, regard it as a very peaceful office; for the high-priest of the temple of Mendes (the modern Tmai-al-amdid), in the Egyptian Delta, bore, as his priestly official name, exactly the same designation as the old Pharaoh of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[8]

The son also of Mentuhotep,[9] king SEBEKHOTEP IV. (No. 21, p. 214), must have been in full possession of the lowlands of the Nile valley; for his statues, executed in granite, received their place of honour at Tanis, which is proof enough for us that neither this city (which was afterwards called Ramses), nor the country adjacent to it on the east, had been occupied by enemies. The same fact is made clear from the discovery at Bubastus of a statue of SEBEKHOTEP V., whose memory was also preserved high up in the south, beyond the boundary of Semneh and Koummeh, by another statue on the island of Argo. The power of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty was therefore neither reduced in the south nor in the north of the empire, for the traces of their greatness and their supremacy cannot be more evidently proved than by monuments such as we have now described. The times of the same kings have also been unmistakably preserved in the heart of Egypt itself. Thebes,

[8] The high-priests, also, of the sanctuaries of the 'City of Ramses' (Zoan-Tanis) bore the title of *Khar-tob*, 'the warrior,' and they were the *Khartumim* (in Hebrew, the 'magicians' of our A. V.) who withstood Moses. See the *Discourse on the Exodus*, appended to Vol. II.—ED.

[9] The head of the family in Table I.

Abydus, and the rocky valley of Hammamat, are rich in written proofs of the undiminished power of the Egyptian empire, and the museums of Europe contain a selection of the monuments of this Thirteenth Dynasty. I may mention above all others the memorial-stone of granite (at Leyden), which SEBEKHOTEP VI., with the official name KHAANKHRA (No. 26, p. 215), dedicated with all honour to the god of Panopolis, Khem-Hor-nekht.

'Thus, as we have already stated, all who suppose that the invasion of the Hyksos took place at the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty have not sufficiently examined the monuments of this period, which, in spite of their small number, permit no remaining doubt as to the power which the Pharaohs of the dynasty in question wielded over the whole of Egypt, as well as over the regions of Nubia.'[1]

The group of kings who, in our list, begin with Sebekhotep III., and finish with the seventh Sebekhotep (Nos. 16–27), and who, in the Genealogical Table (I.), are connected with the most distinguished

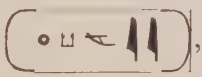
[1] The passage in inverted commas is inserted from the French Edition, in which Dr. Brugsch proceeds to adduce another proof of the power of the Thirteenth Dynasty, by assigning to the time of the Pharaoh Saankhara (No. 79, p. 215) the famous inscription in the valley of Hammamat, describing the first Egyptian expedition to *Punt*, the Holy Land on the Arabian Gulf. But in his German work Dr. Brugsch comes back to the opinion of M. Chabas, that the inscription belongs to Sankhkara, the 58th king of the Eleventh Dynasty (according to the Turin Papyrus: see p. 130); and he has therefore transferred the account of the expedition and the discussion on the land of Punt to the reign of that king (pp. 135–139).—ED.

families of the country, seem in general to have formed a separate series of powerful sovereigns of the Thirteenth Dynasty. As proof of this we may cite the much discussed but little understood representation in the Chamber of Karnak. As is well known, this relates to a succession, or rather a selection, of kings, who received a place in a hall devoted to them under the reign of the third Thutmosis (Thutmes III.), that special venerator of his forefathers. The right side of the whole representation shows us the pictures and the names of the Theban princes of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but, as we have said, only in a selection, the meaning and spirit of which is at once evident. Of the kings, arrayed in four ranks, the following succeed one another in the first and second rows of the series :—

Table of the Chamber at Karnak compared with the Papyrus of Turin.

1. . . . ka.	
2. Sut-en-ra.	
3. Sankhabra . . .	No. 6. Sankhabra.
4. Ra-Sokhemkhutaui . .	„ 16. Sebekhotep III.
5. Ra-Sokhemsuttaui . .	„ 21. Sebekhotep IV.
6. Khasesheshra . . .	„ 22. Noferhotep.
7. Khanoferra . . .	„ 24. Sebekhotep V.
8. Khakara	„ 25. (destroyed.)
9. Khaankhra (SebekhotepVI.)	„ 26. (destroyed, SebekhotepVI.)
10. Khahotepra . . .	„ 27. Sebekhotep VII.

At the first glance we cannot fail to be struck with the obvious choice of the kings, for they are the powerful Sebekhoteps, of whom almost alone the monuments of this time have remained to us as the

last witnesses of their deeds. In further continuation the table of Karnak goes on to show us a list of other names of kings, whose importance is confirmed by the contemporary inscriptions, while the rest of the names mentioned in the papyrus are wholly passed over, as those of insignificant and unimportant petty kings. To the second group of distinguished princes of the Thirteenth Dynasty belongs, according to the guidance of the Chamber of Karnak, MER-KAU-RA, the same who in the papyrus (No. 45, p. 215), appears in the mutilated form Merka(ra). He is the Pharaoh called Meri-ka-ra,  , on the wall of the rock-hewn sepulchral chamber of a certain Tefab, son of Kheti, in the steep mountain behind the modern town of Ossiout, which stands on the site of the old ruined capital of the thirteenth nome, Saut or Siaut, the Lycopolis (that is 'City of Wolves') of the Greeks. Tefab, according to the contents of the inscriptions on his tomb, was the governor of the country of the south (Kama). Although the hieroglyphs which give us information of his life and doings are in a melancholy state of destruction, yet from the parts which have been preserved thus much comes out with certainty, that the ancient owner of the tomb had been commissioned during his lifetime by the *Haq taui* ('prince of the two worlds') to execute certain buildings and works, by which the temple of the god Anubis, the tutelar deity of the city just named, was to be enlarged and embellished. I will not omit this opportunity of mentioning that

the same inscription contains some indications which lead us to infer warlike events in the regions of Upper Egypt.

The tombs of Lycopolis—as many of them as are still covered with representations and explanatory notices (unfortunately the number of these diminishes from year to year)—show throughout a common origin, which points to the times of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. The choice of expressions, the style of the narratives, and especially the dignities and offices, answer throughout to the conditions associated with such an origin. Of high value, but unfortunately too little investigated, is the rock-hewn sepulchral chamber celebrated through the length and breadth of the land, and which goes under the name of Stabl Antar, 'Antar's Stable' (we might call it Roland's stable, for the hero Antar had a fame among the Arabs like the Paladin in the legends of the German Charles the Great). The former tenant of this tomb was a high-priest of Anubis, or, as that god seems generally to have been called, of 'Apheru, the lord of Lycopolis.' Besides his dignity of high-priest, Hapzefa (a son of Ai), for so the deceased was called, filled a number of offices at the royal court, which at the command of the king carried him as far as Elephantiné.

The interior wall, facing the entrance of the sepulchral hall, contains in its obscure height a long and tolerably well preserved inscription, the contents of which are of peculiar value on several accounts. After the titles and offices of the defunct have been

set forth, he himself sings the familiar song of his own praises and his own worth, and extols the way in which he had fulfilled his duties towards gods and men. Then he calls upon the future priestly guardian and preserver of his grave to care for him, the deceased, as he in his lifetime had cared for the deities of the city of Siaut-Lycopolis. He takes this occasion for fixing the kind and number of the sacrifices, he speaks of the feast-days on which they are to be offered, and gives us evidence, for the first time in an Egyptian inscription, that the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley, great and small, were accustomed to dedicate the first-fruits of their harvest to the deity, exactly as every Israelite, rich and poor, was bound to do. The feasts named in our Egyptian inscription took place at the end and at the beginning of the year, from the last day of the year (or the fifth intercalary day) to the feast called Uak, which was celebrated on the eighteenth day of the month Thot.

As the greater number of the tombs of Lycopolis may be referred, without doubt, to the times of the Thirteenth Dynasty, so also the testimony of the inscriptions which adorn the walls of the rock-chambers and tombs of El-Kab (the ancient Eileithyiapolis) points to the same period. Quite apart from the identity in the style, and from the presence of the cartouche of a Sebekhotep, with the official name Ra-Sokhem-sut-taui,[2] , in one of the

[2] This is Sebekhotep IV., No. 21 of the Turin papyrus.— ED.

tombs of this place, whose former tenant bore the name of Sebek-nekht, —above all else, the proper names which belonged to the dead, certainly point in the most unmistakable manner to the period of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

The epoch is near at hand, which will give us the opportunity for a more particular notice of the ancient owners of these tombs, and for speaking of the fortified city, which formerly stood on the site of the present El-Kab. The quadrangle, marked by the remains of its stately walls built of sunburnt bricks, is still visible at the present day, and bears witness to the real existence of a fortress, in which Aahmes, one of the brave champions in the war of the Egyptians against foreign kings, first saw the light.[3]

[3] See Chap. XII. p. 287. The French Edition describes this Aahmes (surnamed Pennukheb) a little more fully as one of the lieutenants of the Pharaohs, who took part in the expedition against the foreigners by land and sea, and in the assault of the city of Avaris, and who accompanied his royal masters in the distant wars which they waged to spread the glory of the arms of Egypt to the very centre of Mesopotamia.—ED.

AN EGYPTIAN WARRIOR OF THE TIME OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.
(From the tombs at Ossiout.)

CHAPTER XI.

SEMITES AND EGYPTIANS, OR, SEMITISM IN EGYPT.[1]

We have already remarked that, according to the testimony of the Turin Book of the Kings, the reigns of the sovereigns who occupied the throne towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty must have been comparatively of very short duration, since they scarcely reached the average of four regnal years. It is obvious that the cause of such a striking phenomenon must be sought in internal dissensions in the kingdom, in civil wars and the struggles of the several claimants of the throne, which interrupted the regular succession and make the existence of collateral dynasties very probable. First, in opposition to the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty of Theban and therefore Upper Egyptian origin, there stood seventy-six Pharaohs, who, according to Manethonian tradition, had fixed their royal residence in the Lower Egyptian city of Sakhan, or Khasan, called by the Greeks Xoïs.[2] These internal schisms, provoked by

[1] The latter title, from the French Edition of 1875, seems to give a better description of the whole scope of this most important chapter than the former, which Dr. Brugsch adopted in his new German work of 1877.—Ed.

[2] This is perhaps put more clearly in the French—that the civil wars (inferred from the short reigns at the end of the thirteenth

the ambitious plans of the possessors of power in Upper and Lower Egypt, give us the key, on the one hand, to the long silence of the contemporary monuments, and, on the other hand, to the full understanding of the success of a warlike invasion, which brought a foreign race into Egypt, who would never have dared to oppose the armed might of the united empire of Kemi.[3]

Before we undertake to review the time of the foreign dominion mentioned above, during which the race of the old native kings sank to the position of simple *hak*,[4]—governors of nomes or sub-kings,—it seems to us to be profitable, and even necessary, to examine more particularly the countries which were to be the future scenes of these events, and above all things to direct our particular attention to the tribes by which those regions were peopled.

To begin first with the Egyptian lowlands, we can have little hesitation in considering the inhabitants included between the branches of the Nile to have

Dynasty) 'explain the existence of a *collateral dynasty* in Lower Egypt, that of the seventy-six kings of Xoïs, according to the traditional account of Manetho.'—ED.

[3] 'The sovereigns of this period had something else to do than to think of constructing monuments to the divinities of the country, and the high functionaries saw their masters change too often, to have confidence in the stability of the state, and to occupy themselves with hewing out in the mountain rock those funereal chapels, witnesses to the glory and riches which permitted men to devote themselves at their leisure to these peaceful labours.'—FRENCH EDITION.

[4] We follow Dr. Brugsch in using this word in the plural as well as the singular.—ED.

been for the most part of pure Egyptian race. The line of demarcation, which separated this race from the neighbouring peoples, was formed on the West by the Canopic branch of the Nile, as by the Pelusiac branch on the opposite side towards the East. The inhabitants of the western or Libyan adjacent lands belonged to the light-coloured race of the Tehen, and further westward to the race of the Libu and Tamahu. The wanderings of these restless migratory groups of tribes, aided by the good service of the horse and ass, besides the ox as a beast of burthen, extended over the whole northern coast of the African continent, as far as the neighbourhood of the lake Tritonis (at the bottom of the lesser Syrtis). This lake was connected on the one hand with the Greeks, on the other with the Phœnician and Egyptian races, by a cycle of legends, in which the warlike and armed Pallas Athene (the Egyptian Neit), and the sea-god Poseidon, formed the central figures. These tribes found their extreme and often-visited eastern boundary at the Canopic branch of the Nile, at the mouth of which stood the place called Karba or Karbana, the Karbanit of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions,[5] a name pointing to a foreign origin, the Heracleum

[5] The city, which may be identified with Canopus, is mentioned more than once in the great inscription of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, which is quoted below (Vol. II. pp. 267, foll.). In the French Edition Dr. Brugsch gives a fuller discussion of the site of Karbana and its identification with Heracleum (on the extreme point of land N.E. of Canopus : see the Map of Lower Egypt). But in another passage (Vol. II. p. 147) he identifies it with Canopus, as does M. Oppert also in the inscription of Assurbanipal. The Egyptian name of Canopus was Toqar.—ED.

of later Græco-Egyptian times. The city so called appears for the first time in a passage in the great Harris papyrus, of the time of the third Ramses.[6] Mention is there made of an irruption of the united Libu and Mashauasha, that is the Libyans and Maxyes, who took possession of the whole region on the west of the Canopic branch of the Nile, 'from the city of Memphis as far as the place Karbana.' The name of the last seems to be good Semitic: at least the first part of it, 'Kar,' represents the well-known word for 'town' (in Assyrian, *kar*; in Hebrew, *kir*, *kirjah*).

When we turn to the eastern boundary of the Delta, Semitism meets us here at every step, according to the testimony of the monuments, in the most evident manner. Its principal region comprehends the country on the east of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, in which were situated the three Lower Egyptian nomes VIII, XIV, and XX.[7] The capital of the 14th nome, the city of Tanis, which gave its name to the branch of the Nile which runs by it, bore the foreign designation, Zar, Zal, and even in the plural Zaru, as if it should be translated 'the city of the Zars' (i.e. fortresses). The name Tanis, which was given to it by the Greeks, is to be referred back to another designation of it, namely to the Egyptian form Zean, Zoan. This is the same name which we meet with in Holy Scripture as Zoan, which was built seven years later than Hebron (Numbers xiii. 23). The city of Tanis is everywhere designated in the Egyptian inscriptions

[6] See Vol. II. p. 147.

[7] See the List of Nomes, Vol. II., Appendix B.—ED.

as an essentially *foreign* town, the inhabitants of which are mentioned 'as the peoples in the eastern border land.' The eastern border land is, however, nothing else than the ordinary denomination of the later Tanite nome, which, although not often, appears in the list of nomes under the denomination of Ta mazor, that is 'the fortified land,' in which may easily be recognized the long-sought original form of the Hebrew name for Egypt, Mazor or Misraim.[8]

On the granite memorial stone of Ramses II., which was discovered in Tanis, dated in the year 400 of the era of king Nubti or Nub—a designation of the year which racks the brains of scholars to this day[9]—there appears a 'commandant of the fortress Zal' (*mur-khet-Zal*), who, besides this office, held also the dignity of commander of the foreign peoples (*Mur-setu*). In this case also there is a reference to inhabitants of foreign origin in that part of the Egyptian Delta of which we are now speaking.

The papyrus rolls of the times of the Nineteenth Dynasty frequently allude with marked interest to this city, which, besides the two names we have mentioned, bore also a third, Pi-Ramessu,[1] that is the 'city

[8] Compare p. 18. Concerning the city of Zal, Zar, or Zor, and its identification with Zoan, Tanis, and Pi-Ramses, see further (besides subsequent passages in this chapter) Vol. II. pp. 98, f., 133, and the *Discourse on the Exodus*. (See Index, *s. v.* ZOAN.) The whole of the following discussion should be compared with the *Discourse*.—ED.

[9] Concerning this monument and the era marked on it, see below, pp. 246, f., and pp. 296–299.—ED.

[1] *Pi* or *Pa* is the Egyptian definite article.—ED.

of Ramses.' Concerning the origin of this name and the identity of the city of Ramses with the Biblical Ramses,[2] we shall hereafter bring forward what is necessary to elucidate the subject. On this occasion the papyrus rolls to which we have alluded mention a number of lakes and waters, situated in the neighbourhood of the outlandish city Zal, the peculiar designations of which at once remind us of their Semitic origin. I may cite as examples the names of the waters abounding in fish and birds; Shaanau, Putra, Nakhal, Puharta or Puharat. The marshes and lakes rich in water plants, which at this day are denoted by the name of the Birket Menzaleh, shared the name common to all such waters, Sufi (or, with the Egyptian article, Pa-sufi, equivalent to 'the Sufi'), a word which completely agrees with the Hebrew Suf. The interpreters generally understand this word in the sense of rushes or a rushy district, while in old Egyptian it denotes precisely a water rich in papyrus plants.[3]

To the east of the Tanite nome or the 'eastern border land,' another nome was situated on the sandy banks of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, the eighth in the general enumeration of the Egyptian nomes, which the inscriptions represent under the designation

[2] Exod. i. 11: 'And they (the Israelites) built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses,' or rather temple-cities (see Vol. II. pp. 102, 103, and *Discourse on the Exodus*).—ED.

[3] Respecting the bearing of this on the *Yamsuf*, 'sea of weeds,' of the Book of Exodus, commonly identified with the Red Sea, see the *Discourse on the Exodus*.—ED.

of the 'point of the east,' although we will not conceal that our translation 'point' perhaps requires correction. This is, however, a secondary consideration for our present purpose. It is, on the other hand, much more important to know that the capital of the nome in question bore the name Pi-tom, that is, 'the city of the sun-god Tom,' in which we must instantly recognize the Pithom of the Bible. This city formed the central point of a district, the name of which must also be referred to a foreign origin. It is the district of Suko or Sukot,[4] called in Holy Scripture, in connection with the Exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, Succoth, the meaning of which word—'tent,' or 'tent-camp'—can be established only by the help of the Semitic. Such a designation is not extraordinary for a district, the natural character of which answers exactly to the significance of its name; for it contained pastures, the property of Pharaoh, on which the wandering Bedouins of the eastern deserts pitched their tents to procure necessary food for their cattle. Even as late as the Græco-Roman times of Egyptian history, the designation 'tents,' or 'tent-camp' (Scenæ), appears again, as applied to

[4] In the French Edition Dr. Brugsch writes the name of this district *Tuku*, adding, 'or more accurately pronounced *Thuku*;' and in the passage just referred to in his list of the Nomes of Lower Egypt (No. 8 in Appendix B to Vol. II.) he preserves the form *Thukoi*, which is the reading of nearly all (we believe we might say all) other Egyptologists. He also uses the form Thuku, Vol. II. pp. 132, 133, 138, but generally throughout his book, and in the *Discourse on the Exodus*, he gives the name as *Suko* or *Sukot*. Further remarks on this question are reserved for a note on the *Discourse*.—ED.

places where men were accustomed to pitch their camps of tents. I will only recal the Scenæ Veteranorum and the Scenæ Mandrorum, which under the reign of Theodosius II. are given as names of places in Egypt. The site of the city Pitom is often more closely defined on the monuments by the important addition 'at the entrance of the east, at the eastern entrance,' namely from the desert into Egypt. A canal in the neighbourhood of the city received again a name borrowed, not from the Egyptian, but from the Semitic speech, namely, Kharma, or Kharoma, which means 'the cutting through.'

To return once more to Sukot, we must remind the reader that the children of Israel, in their journey from the city of Ramses, pitched their first camp in the district of 'the tents.'[5] On the second day they reached in their wanderings the place to which the Bible gives the name of Etham.[6] I have elsewhere adduced the proof,[7] that this place also, according to the Egyptian testimonies, was either in the country of Sukot, or at least in its close neighbourhood. It is the place called, in various passages of the hieratic papyrus rolls, Khetam, the meaning of which, 'a shut-up place, fortress,' completely agrees with the Hebrew Etham. We shall have the opportunity of returning later on to this Khetam-Etham, when we consider the Exodus of the children of Israel.

In the same nome, the eighth of the monumental lists, and the same which the Greeks and Romans

[5] Exod. xii. 37. [6] Exod. xiii. 20.

[7] See the *Discourse on the Exodus.*

used to call the Sethroite,[8] lay without doubt that most important town, which was to form as it were the kernel of the following history, the town of Hauar or Haual, the literal interpretation of which is 'the house of the leg' (*uar*). In a particular passage of the Manethonian account of the dominion of the foreigners, the so-called Hyksos kings, which has fortunately been preserved in an extract by the Jewish historian, Josephus, there occurs a mention of the same name—Manetho calls the town Avaris—in which its origin is incidentally referred to a religious tradition. A closer examination of the nome, together with its towns, as they are described to us in the different lists on the monuments of the time of the Ptolemies, which are more or less detailed and well-arranged, furnishes the proof that other places also in the land of Egypt bore the name of Hauar, and particularly those which in their Serapeums, that is, in the temples of the dead, dedicated to Osiris, the benefactor of the land, carefully preserved the legs of the god as holy relics. Such was the name, for example, of the capital of the third nome of Lower Egypt, or the Libyan, with the epithet *Hauar ament*, that is 'the town of the right leg.' The great inscription, so important for a knowledge of the land of Egypt, on the wall of the most holy place in the midst of the temple of Edfou (Apollinopolis Magna), assures us moreover that the inhabitants of that city of the Libyan nome

[8] Nomos Sethroites. On the origin of this name compare p. 9 of my book *L'Exode et les Monuments égyptiens.* Leipzig: 1875. [The *Discourse on the Exodus,* appended to Vol. II.—ED.]

'worshipped this leg in one of the temples dedicated to the Apis bull.' We have therefore a full right to suppose that the name of the town Avaris, on the eastern side of the Delta, was connected with this peculiar worship of the leg of Osiris. It is not difficult to recognize in the latter the left leg of the god, because of the evident allusion to the peculiar position of the arms of the Nile, which is well known to have been considered as another form and manifestation of Osiris. After the parting of the stream at the point of the Delta [9] into the two main arms, or, as the ancient Egyptians said, 'legs,' the Canopic to the west, and the Pelusiac to the east, the western arm was regarded as the right leg of Osiris, and the Pelusiac, on the contrary, as the left leg of the god. The places situated in the neighbourhood of the mouth were naturally considered as abodes of Osiris, and in these most holy places the legs of that god were held in peculiar reverence. In this conception the legend finds its full explanation.

The town Hauar or Avaris, with which we are for the moment occupied, lay, as we have said, to the east of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, with which it appears to have been connected by a canal, unless we prefer to suppose that it was placed directly on the shore of the arm of the Nile where it widened out greatly towards its mouth. By the gradual silting up of this branch in the course of thousands of years, the restoration of the ancient bed of the

[9] The name of the town near the point of bifurcation, Kerkasorus, seems to mean the parting (*Kerk*) of Osiris.

river, and the right determination of the situation of the towns on its banks, has become so difficult a task, that there is scarcely a hope of ever again finding the ancient site of the lost Hyksos city of Avaris, unless some very fortunate accident should bring about its discovery. But that Hauar must in any case be sought in the neighbourhood of a lake, is taught us beyond all contradiction by the often-cited inscription in the tomb at El-Kab of the navigator Aahmes, the faithful servant of Pharaoh, who in the history of his life relates how he was present when the Egyptian fleet was engaged in fighting the foreign enemies on the waters Pa-zetku, or Zeku, of the town of Hauar. (See Chap. XII. pp. 280, f.) This name also, in spite of the Egyptian article placed before it, has a Semitic appearance, so that I should not at all hesitate to compare it with corresponding roots of the Semitic languages.

Another place, situated on the same territory of the Sethroite nome, bears on the monuments the purely Semitic name, Maktol or Magdol; which is nothing else than the Hebrew Migdol, meaning 'town' or 'fortress,' out of which the Greeks in their turn formed the more euphonious name of Magdolon. That the ancient Egyptians, moreover, were well acquainted with the meaning of this word, which was foreign to their language, is proved most conclusively by the masculine article prefixed to it, and the sign of a wall ( ), which was added to the foreign word when written in Egyptian characters. This Migdol—of which mention is made in the Bible, not only in the

description of the Exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt,[1] but also in occasional passages, to denote distinctly one of the most northern points of the inhabited country of the Egyptians[2]—is also called on the monuments by the native name of Samut, and its site is exactly determined by the heaps of *débris* at Tell-es-Samut on the eastern side of Lake Menzaleh.

With this fortress of Migdol—between which and the sea king Ramses III. once encamped with a portion of his infantry, to be an actual witness of the victory of his Egyptian fleet over the confederated seafaring peoples of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean—the list of defences, which were intended to protect the country on the east, is not yet closed. There lay still further to the north-east, on the western border of the lake called Sirbonis, a place important for the defence of the frontier, called Anbu, that is 'the wall,' 'the rampart wall,' 'the circumvallation.' It is frequently mentioned by the ancients, though not under its Egyptian appellation, but in the form of a translation. The Hebrews call it Shur, that is, 'wall,' and the Greeks Gerrhon, Gerrha (τὸ Γέρρον, τὰ Γέρρα), which means 'the fences' or 'enclosures.' This remark will, at one stroke, remove all difficulties which have hitherto existed in solving the problem of the origin of these names, which, in spite of their

[1] Exod. xiv. 2.

[2] Jerem. xliv. 1, xlvi. 14; Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6; where the A. V. gives the *right* translation in the *margin*, 'from Migdol to Syene,' i.e. all Egypt between its extreme N. and S. borders.—ED.

difference in sound, nevertheless refer to one and the same place.

Whoever travelled eastwards from Egypt, in order to leave the country, was obliged to pass the place of 'the walls,' before he was allowed to enter the 'road of the Philistines,' as it is called in Holy Writ, on his further journey.[3] An Egyptian garrison, under the command of a captain, blocked the passage through the fortress, which only opened and closed on the suspected traveller after a previous communication from the royal authorities. Anbu-Shur-Gerrhon formed at the same time the first terminal point of the great military road, which led from the Delta by Khetam-Etham and Migdol to the desert of Shur. From Anbu, passing by the fortress of Uit, in the land of Hazi, or Hazion (the Cassiotis of the ancients), the traveller arrived at the tower, or Bekhen, of Aanekht (Ostracene), where the boundaries of the countries of Kemi and Zaha met. On the foreign territory of the last-named place the traveller, always passing along the sea coast, reached the place called Ab-sakabu (having the same meaning in Semitic as the name by which the Greeks translated it, Rhinocolura or Rhinocorura, that is, 'the place of the mutilation of noses'), and at length he reached the country of the neighbouring inhabitants of Palestine.

With the names of places already cited, the examples which show clear traces of a very early Semitic influence are not nearly exhausted. We meet every-

[3] Exod. xiii. 17. As to the bearing of this passage on the question of the Exodus, see the *Discourse* appended to Vol. II.—ED.

where on the eastern side of the Delta with towns and fortresses, the names of which point to original Semitic colonists. I will not cite the well-known Annu or On (the Heliopolis of the Greeks), the original meaning of which, as well in old Egyptian as in Hebrew, seems to have been 'stone' or 'stone pillars,' but other less obscure names, with which the 'Dictionary of the Egyptian Towns'[4] will furnish us. Thus there was in the neighbourhood of Mendes, perhaps even in Mendes itself, a fortified place called 'the fortress of Azaba,' the last part of which name does not belong to the Egyptian tongue, but to a Semitic family of languages. It is the fortress of Ozaeb, in Hebrew, that is, 'of the idol.' Another town on the east side of the Delta, well known from the account of the war of the first Mineptah against the Libyan confederacy of tribes, bore the appellation Pi-bailos, 'the town of Bailos;' (in Greek, Byblos; in Coptic, Phelbes), the Semitic origin of which is made clear by its evident relationship with the Hebrew, Balas (the large fig). In its neighbourhood was the lake Shakana, also with a non-Egyptian name, the meaning of which is only explained by the Semitic root *shakan*, 'to settle down, to dwell, to be neigh-

[4] From the inscriptions on the walls of the great temple at Edfou, we learn that an ancient *Manual of the Geography of Egypt* was preserved in the library of that sanctuary. Though that book has unfortunately perished, there are materials for its restoration in a great measure from inscriptions and papyri, and it is one of Dr. Brugsch's great services to science to have undertaken this laborious work in his *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, 1878–9.—ED.

bour to.' More inland, in the middle of the same land of the Delta, the traveller found, in the west of the Athribitic nome, the town Kahani, a name with a foreign Semitic sound, which at once recals the Hebrew, *kohen*, 'priests.' In the same way with other examples, it is not difficult to prove by the methods of comparative philology the connection of Egyptian settlements and towns with their original Semitic inhabitants.

But another kind of evidence also makes known to us the presence of branches of the Semitic race on Egyptian soil, whether they were transplanted thither pure and unmixed, or whether time and circumstances had contributed to graft them on the Egyptian stock. The memorial stones, coffins, and rolls of papyrus, found in the cemeteries of Ancient Egypt, testify the undoubted presence of Semitic persons, who were settled in the valley of the Nile, and had, so to speak, obtained the rights of citizenship; as also, on the other hand, the inclination of the Egyptians to give to their children Semitic names, or names formed by a singular mixture of half Egyptian and half Semitic. We only need to glance over Lieblein's valuable list of Egyptian Proper Names, to be fully persuaded of this fact. There were Egyptians who bore names such as the following: Adiroma, Abarokaro, Baal-Mohar, Pesahales, Mausan, Mashu, Namurod, Nanai, Pet-baal, Sagarta, Qapur, Karopusa, and many others, without any appearance of the slightest objection being found to the foreign character of such designations. The most remarkable

of all is the name 'Akber, which is the Hebrew עכבר 'mouse,' borne (among others) by the father of a king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 38, Achbor in A.V.) The Egyptian referred to is called 'the gate-keeper 'Akber, surnamed R'ameses.'[5]

The inclination of the Egyptian mind to things Semitic is to be explained, in my opinion, first of all from their having long lived together, and from the mutual relations which existed very early between the Egyptian and Semitic races. Above all, we must not omit the consideration that the commercial intercourse, which extended from the Nile to the Euphrates, contributed to introduce into Egypt foreign expressions for so many products of the soil and foreign works of industry and art. The animal world also, in so far as it was not indigenous to the valley of the Nile, brought its contribution of words borrowed from the Semitic—as may be shown by *sus* for 'horse,'[6] *camal* for 'camel,' *abir* for a particular kind of bull. The endeavour to pay court, in the manner thus indicated, to whatever was Semitic, degenerated, in the time of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, into a really absurd mania; when they introduced Semitic words in place of Egyptian words already existing in their own mother tongue and in the literature of their country; and even turned Egyptian words themselves into Semitic, by a dissection of the syllables, if we may use such an expression. But the worst of all this was that the most educated and best instructed class of the Egyp-

[5] Lieblein, *Eigennamen*, No. 952.

[6] With this came in also *agalota*, 'chariot.'—FRENCH EDITION.

tian people, the world of priests and scribes, took a peculiar pleasure in interlarding their literary effusions with Semitic words, which they were accustomed to employ in the place of good Egyptian expressions.[7] They used Semitic terms like the following: *rosh*, 'head'; *sar*, 'king'; *beit*, 'house'; *bab*, 'door'; *bir*, 'spring'; *birkata*, 'lake'; *ketem*, 'gold'; *shalom*, 'to greet'; *rom*, 'to be high'; *barak*, 'to bless'; and many others.[8]

Here, however, we must not forget a consideration which, if well understood, is calculated in some measure to explain this striking fact, and so to excuse what seems worthy of blame in this mania for the introduction of foreign words into the mother tongue. In the east of the lowlands, in those districts of which we have spoken above, and whose central points were the cities of Ramses and Pitom, the Semitic immigration had spread so widely in process of time, and had attained such a preponderance over the Egyptian population, that, in the course of centuries, a gradual blending of the two races took place. This led finally to the formation of a mixed people, the traces of which have held their ground firmly in the same parts to the present day. The neighbouring Egyptians, weaker in numbers, not only accommo-

[7] See further remarks on these affectations of style, and the opposition to them by the older literary school, under the history of Ramses II. in Vol. II. pp. 105, ff.—ED.

[8] These Semitic words became so firmly rooted in the Egyptian language and literature, that almost every historical document of the times of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties furnishes new proofs of the habit of mixing the Semitic with the Egyptian.—ED.

dated themselves to adopt the manners and usages of the Semites, but began to feel an inclination even for the foreign idol-worship, and to enrich their own theology with new and hitherto unknown heavenly forms of foreign origin. At the head of all stood the half Egyptian and half Semitic divinity of Set or Sutekh, with the surname Nub,[9] 'gold,' who was universally considered as the representative and king of the foreign deities in the land of Mazor. In his essence a primitive Egyptian creation, Set gradually became the contemporary representative of all foreign countries, the god of the foreigners.

In mentioning the names of Baal and Astarta, which we so frequently meet with in the inscriptions, it is scarcely necessary to point out that both have their origin in the Phœnician theology. As at Sidon, so likewise in Memphis, the warlike Astarta—(represented on the Egyptian monuments of the later age as a lion-headed goddess, who guides with her own hand her team of horses yoked to the war chariot)—had her own temple; and we shall hereafter prove that Ramses II. erected a special temple to her honour and her service on the lonely shore of the Mediterranean near the Lake Sirbonis.

Though less frequently named on the monuments

[9] It is a very remarkable phenomenon that in Oriental ideas from the times of the highest antiquity the curse of the Typhonic deities adheres to gold. According to a Greek tradition (Plutarch on *Isis and Osiris*, c. 30), at the sacrificial feast of Helios the worshippers of the god were directed to carry no gold about their persons, just as in the present day the followers of Mohammed take off all gold trinkets before they say the appointed prayers.

than the preceding representatives of the Semitic divinities, places were still assigned in the Egyptian heavenly host to the fierce Reshpu, 'the lord of long times, the king of eternity, the lord of strength in the midst of the host of gods;' and to the goddess Kadosh, that is, 'the holy,' whose very name indicates the peculiar character of her heavenly being. The frolicsome Bes or Bas, too, of whom we have already spoken, the patron of song and of music, of pleasures and all social delights, must be mentioned once again in this place, since he was, by his origin, a pure child of the Semitic race of the Arabs. His name, in their language, means Lynx and Cat; and we think we are not carrying the comparison too far, if we at once place by his side the cat-headed tutelar goddess of the famous city of Bubastus, the much-venerated slender Bast. If we conclude the list by mentioning that the Phœnician Onka and the Syrian Anaït, or Anaïtis, are among those heavenly beings whose exact names and forms are recognized in the Egyptian pantheon, where they take their places under the names of Anka and Anta, we shall have exhausted the principal representatives of the Semitic deities whose traces are found in the old Egyptian theology.

Perhaps the influence of the Semitic neighbourhood on Egyptian affairs may also be proved from a new point of view, in which case a very remarkable and striking fact would complete very emphatically the evidence in favour of our opinion. We here refer to that peculiar chronology, indicated nowhere

else, which an Egyptian courtier used only once, in the fourteenth century before the birth of Christ, to designate the year of the execution of an inscription. I allude to the celebrated memorial-stone of Tanis, erected in the reign of the second Ramses.

Contrary to the custom and usage of giving dates according to the day, month, and year of the reigning king, the stone of Tanis offers us the only example as yet discovered, which apparently refers to a foreign non-Egyptian system of chronology. Mention is there made of the year 400 of king Nub, a prince belonging to the foreign dynasty of the Hyksos. In other words, if we do not misunderstand the main point, in the town of Tanis, the inhabitants of which for the most part belonged to Semitic races, this system of chronology was in such general use, that the person who raised the memorial-stone did not think it extraordinary to employ it as a standard of reckoning time, in the beautifully engraved inscription on granite which was exhibited before all eyes in a temple. There hardly occurs a stronger proof of the influence of Semitic ideas on the Egyptian mind and on Egyptian customs than the testimony we have now cited of the stone of Tanis. A preponderating and almost irresistible force of Semitism lies ingrained herein, the importance of which it is well to remark, before we undertake to describe the history of the irruption of the foreigners into Egypt, and the consequences which resulted from it to the condition of the empire.[1]

[1] In a work lately published, *The Sun-and-Sirius Year of the Ramessids, with the Secret of the Intercalation, and the Year of*

Considering all these evidences, which seem to speak in favour of our view of the importance of the Semitic influence on the relations of Egypt, we will not neglect to question the monuments for confirmation of the presence of Semitic races and families on Egyptian soil. We still keep in view the eastern frontiers of the Delta, which commanded the only entrance for immigrants from the east.

In place of any other answer, we add first of all the literal translation of a letter, which was composed under the Nineteenth Dynasty, certainly with the view on the part of the writer of giving to his superior a report on the admission of foreign immigrants to the Egyptian soil.[2]

'(I will now pass) to something else which will give satisfaction to the heart of my lord; (namely to report to him), that we have permitted the races of the Shasu of the land of Aduma (Edom) to pass through the fortress Khetam (Etham)

Julius Cæsar (Leipzig, 1875), the author, Herr Karl Riel, has undertaken, in great detail, to prove that the date of the year 400 of the 4th Mesori of king Nub relates to the introduction of the fixed Sun-and-Sirius year in 1766 B.C., in which the 15th of Pakhons of the vague year fell on the 15th of Thot of the fixed year, that is on the true normal day of the rising of Sirius. Without venturing to pass a judgment on the value of this theory, we will confine ourselves to one simple remark. The work quoted, which is composed with unmistakable thoroughness and knowledge of the subject, must be examined in its whole extent and connection before any one ought to venture to give a fixed opinion on the changes which are there pointed out on the subject of the Egyptian calendar. I will, however, state that the theory, which I have long suggested, of a fixed year in many dates on Egyptian monuments finds here full confirmation. [For the discussion of the 'Era of King Nub,' see below, pp. 296–299.—ED.]

[2] See the papyrus Anastasi iv., p. 4, ll. 13, foll.

of king Mineptah-Hotephimaat—life, weal, and health to him! —which is situated in the land of Sukot [3] near the lakes of the city of Pitom of king Mineptah-Hotephimaat, which is situated in the land of Sukot,[3] to nourish themselves and to feed their cattle on the property of Pharaoh, who is a gracious sun for all nations.'

This extremely important document of the time of the first Mineptah, the son of Ramses II., refers to the tribes of the sons of the desert, or, to use the Egyptian name for them, the tribes of the Shasu, in whom science has already long since, and with perfect certainty, recognized the Bedouins of the earliest times. They inhabited the great desert between Egypt and the land of Canaan, and extended their wanderings sometimes as far as the river-land of the Euphrates (Mesopotamia). According to the monuments, the Shasu belonged to the great race of the Amu, of which they were, in fact, the chief representatives. In the times of the first Seti, the father of Ramses II., the land traversed by the Shasu began at the fortress Zal-Tanis, and stretched towards the East as far as the hill-town 'of Canana' (in the Wady-Arabah, to the south of the Dead Sea), which Seti I. took by storm in his campaign against the Bedouins. The author of the letter designates those Shasu, who were permitted by superior authority to enter the Egyptian territory, as the Shasu of the land of Aduma, which was the Edom of the Bible and the Idumæa of later times. The tribes of the Shasu, who are referred to in the letter we have quoted, were therefore sufficiently designated, with reference to their origin, as

[3] Here again the French Edition has *Tuku*.—ED.

inhabitants of the land of Edom. The position of these last is more exactly defined in Holy Scripture by the mountainous country of Se'ir [4] (שֵׂעִיר).

On this occasion we have the satisfaction of being able to show again the complete agreement of the information on the monuments with the statements of Scripture. In that passage of the Harris papyrus, in which mention is made of the campaigns of King Ramses III. against these very Shasu, an important observation is inserted in the king's discourse. He speaks thus: 'ari-a sek Sa'ir-u em mahaut Sasu;' that is, 'I annihilated the Sa'ir among the tribes of the Shasu.' The name of Sa'ir answers letter for letter to the Hebrew word Se'ir. The comparison must appear so much the better founded, as the Egyptian writer has appended to the written words of the name the mute determinative sign of the child, as if he wished to prove his knowledge of the Semitic language, in which Sa'ir means 'the little one.' The Se'irites, the children of Se'ir, were dwellers in caves, and the original inhabitants of the mountain range of Se'ir. At a later period, driven out by the children of Esau, they yielded their land to the conquerors, to whom the appellation of Se'irites, as inhabitants of the Se'ir range, was afterwards transferred.[5]

[4] The ' denotes the Hebrew letter Ain (ע), which had the force both of *o* and of the guttural nasal *ng* or *gn*.—ED.

[5] See Gen. xiv. 6, 'the *Horites* (i.e. *dwellers in caves*) in their *Mount Se'ir*;' xxxvi. 20–21, 'these are the sons of *Se'ir* the *Horite*, who inhabited the land . . . . : these are the dukes of the *Horites*, the children of *Se'ir*, in the land of *Edom*' (cf. vv. 29–32):

With the help of the knowledge thus obtained, it is no longer difficult to assign to the Shasu their true place on the scene which now forms the object of our enquiry. The land of Edom and the neighbouring hill country of Se'ir formed the home of the principal tribes of the Shasu, who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries before our era left their mountains to invade Egypt sword in hand, or in a peaceful manner, followed by their flocks and herds, to beg sustenance for themselves and their cattle, and to seek an entrance into the rich pastures of the land of Succoth.[6] It was evidently famine that drove them to the rich corn-lands of the favoured Delta, where they took up their temporary abode in tent-camps near their brethren of the same race, who had become settled inhabitants.

As in the neighbourhood of the city of Ramses and the town of Pitom the Semitic population formed, we may say, the main stock of the inhabitants from remote antiquity, and as subjects of Pharaoh were obedient to the laws of the empire, so, in course of

Deut. ii. 12, 'The *Horims* also dwelt in *Se'ir* beforetime; but the children of *Esau* succeeded them (lit., *inherited them*) when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their room (cf. v. 29): 2 Kings xiv. 7, '(Amaziah) slew of *Edom* in the valley of salt (S. of the Dead Sea) ten thousand: 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 14, 'Amaziah . . . . went into the valley of salt, and smote of the children of *Se'ir* ten thousand. . . . . After that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the *Edomites*, he brought the gods of the children of *Se'ir*,' &c. These passages suffice to show how the Edomites, the children of Esau, 'inherited' the old name of the land and its people.—Ed.

[6] Here again the French edition has *Thuku*.—Ed.

time, unwelcome neighbours settled on another part of the eastern borders in the neighbourhood of Pibailos (the Bilbeis of our modern maps), close on the edge of the desert and in sight of the cultivated land, and pitched their tents where they found pasture for their cattle. They were Bedouins, who in all probability roamed through the dreary desert in a north-westerly direction, by the difficult paths of the great papyrus marsh near the present town of Suez, to find the goal of their wanderings near the town of Pibailos. Mineptah II.,[7] the son and successor of Ramses II., gives on his monument of victory at Karnak a graphic account of the dangerous character of these unbidden guests, to whom the way lay open from Pibailos to On and Memphis, for the king's predecessors had not deemed it worth their while to establish fortresses to hinder the approach of these strangers to the most important cities of the lower country. When the Pharaoh just named succeeded to the throne of his fathers, the danger of a sudden invasion on this side appeared all the more threatening, inasmuch as, on the other side, the western neighbours of the Egyptians, the Libyans, with their allies, suddenly passed the frontiers of Kemi, and extended their predatory incursions into the heart of the populous and cultivated western nomes of the Delta. According to the statement of the inscription of victory, which is

[7] Called in the German 'Mineptah I.;' but in the history of the XIXth Dynasty (Chap. XIV.), as well as in the List of Kings (Vol. II., Appendix A.), Dr. Brugsch reckons this king as 'Mineptah II.,' 'Mineptah I.' being another name of Seti I., the father of Ramses II.—ED.

unfortunately injured by the fracture of the upper part, Mineptah II. saw himself obliged to take needful precautions for the safety of the land. For the protection of the Eastern frontier, the capitals On and Memphis were provided with the necessary fortifications, for, as the eloquent inscription expressly says, 'the foreigners had pitched their ahil[8] or tents before the town of Pibailos, &c.'[9]

We will here at once anticipate what has to be related in its place, that Ramses III. was the first who succeeded in protecting the entrance into Egypt on this side by building a new fortress near the modern Qasr Agerud, situated to the north-west of the Gulf of Suez, in the neighbourhood of the 'great well.' The whole country, to which the fortified place belonged, bore the appellation 'Aina or 'Aian, which continued till the time of Pliny in the slightly changed form of Aean. Under the Græco-Roman dominion the particular nome to which Aean belonged was called the Heroöpolitan nome after its capital.[1]

Before we cast a glance at the remaining neighbours of the Egyptians of the Delta, who carried on war or traffic with the inhabitants of Kemi, it seems desirable to call attention to a particular circumstance,

[8] Again a Semitic word; the Hebrew Ohil, with the same meaning.

[9] The passage referred to forms lines 5–9 of the inscription, which is given in full under the history of Mineptah II. (Vol. II. p. 122).—ED.

[1] This was not one of the old Egyptian nomes mentioned on the monuments, and will therefore not be found in the list, Vol. II., Appendix B).—ED.

which is not without importance for forming a right judgment on Semitism.

Our advancing knowledge of the contents of the Egyptian papyri permits us, even at the present time, to cast an intelligent glance at the administration of the Eastern 'marches' (or borderland), which, in the time of the great Ramessids and their successors, had for their centre the foreigners' city of Zoan-Tanis. Hence went forth the orders on the part of the king, or of the chief officials of Pharaoh, relating to the management of affairs and to the regulation of trade with 'the foreign people,' or, to use the Egyptian expression for them, with the *Pit*. A portion of these consisted of the industrious population settled in the towns and villages; another portion served in the army of Pharaoh as infantry and cavalry, or as sailors; others again were used[2] in the public works, the most laborious of which were the mines and quarries. Over each larger or smaller division of 'foreigners,' who were registered by their names and race on the rolls of the royal archives, an official was placed, called the *Hir-pit*, or steward of the foreigners.[3] His next superior was the commandant of the district, or *Adon* (here again they used the Semitic form for this title), while, as the chief authority, the '*Ab of Pharaoh*' (this was the dignity which Joseph held[4]),

[2] The German has the expressive word which also means 'expended' (*verwendet*).—ED.

[3] German *Vogt*; here answering nearly to our old 'reeve' (A.S. *gerefe*) in 'borough-reeve' and 'sheriff' (*scirgerefe*).—ED.

[4] On the application of these titles to Joseph see Chap. XII., p. 307.—ED.

or royal Vizier, issued his orders in the name of the sovereign. The control over the foreign people lay in the hands of special bailiffs (called *Mazai*[5]), whose duty it was to look after and preserve public order in the principal cities of the land, and who were under the orders of an *Ur*, or commander, to whom the execution of public buildings was not unfrequently committed as an additional duty. I pass over a host of other officials, who in the eastern provinces of the Delta, as in the rest of Egypt, carried on the administration of the nomes, and I will only add that the foreign subjects were frequently promoted to important offices in connection with the government. They seem to have been most appreciated in the capacity of bearers of official documents in the intercourse between Egypt and the neighbouring country of Palestine. The chief seats of this intercourse, the importance of which is shown by several papyri, seem to have been (besides the frontier city of Ramses) the fortified places near the Mediterranean sea coast, and, further inland toward the east, the country of the Edomites and Amorites.

We embrace the convenient opportunity here offered to consider the neighbours in Palestine, who continually carried on the most active intercourse with the Egyptians of the earlier times, and who partly formed the chief stock of the foreign inhabitants in the eastern marches of the Delta. In the first rank stand the *Khar*, or *Khal*,[6] a name which denoted not

[5] This name denoted originally a foreign race.

[6] The name of the Khar, which occurs also in the Assyrian

only a people, but also the country they inhabited, namely, those parts of Western Asia, situated on the Syrian coast, and above all others the land of the PHŒNICIANS. Richly laden ships went and came to and from the land of Khar; for the inhabitants of Khar carried on an active trade with the Egyptians, and seem, if we are not to distrust the monuments and papyri, to have been a people held in esteem and consideration. Even the male and female slaves from Khar were a much-desired merchandise, procured by distinguished Egyptians at a high price, whether for their own houses, or for service in the holy dwellings of the Egyptian deities.

The land of the Khar bears in the inscriptions

cuneiform inscriptions as the designation of a people and country, is undoubtedly connected with the Semitic root *âchur* or *âchor*, which signifies 'back or hinder side, behind, backwards,' and hence also the West quarter of a region, in opposition to *qädäm*, the 'front side, the East quarter.' As is well known, the Semitic nations used to turn the face to the East, the quarter of the rising sun, and accordingly they called the East the 'front side,' the West the 'hinder side,' the South therefore the 'right' (*yamîn*), and the North the 'left' (*shemol*, *shamel*). In opposition to all this, the ancient Egyptians regarded the Western side as the *right* (*unim*), the Eastern as the *left* (*semah*, whence the word Asmach, cited by Herodotus as meaning 'those who stand on the king's left hand'). Consequently they turned the face to the South, or, as they used to say, 'upwards' (*hir*) or 'forwards' (*khhont*), so that the North lay at their back, and hence its appellation of the 'lower' (*khir*) or 'hinder' (*pehu*) region. Now, having regard to all this, the appellation of Khar, in the sense of 'hinder land,' could only have originated with such peoples as had their fixed abodes to the East of the land of Khar, that is, on the banks of the Euphrates. Thus Babel and its famous tower appear unmistakably as the great fixed centre (*Markstein*) whence the directions of the abodes of nations were estimated in the earliest antiquity.'

another designation, the most ancient mention of which is supported by all the testimony we could desire, namely, by evidence from the earliest times of the Eighteenth Dynasty, about the year 1700 B.C. This name is Kefa or Keft, Kefeth, Kefthu, according to the monuments. As at a certain age of Egyptian history, namely, at the beginning of the reign of the first Seti, the territory of the Shasu extended as far as the city of Ramses,—so about a hundred years later, the abodes of the people of the Khar, or the Phœnicians, were described as 'beginning with the fortress of Zar (Tanis-Ramses), and extending to Aupa or Aup.' The last-mentioned name denotes a place in the North of Palestine, though we are not able to define its situation more exactly. On the other hand, the information is of very great importance, that these same Khar had extended their habitations into the heart of the Tanitic nome. We can, for the reasons given above, no longer be surprised, that these descendants of the Phœnician race constituted in the eastern borders of the Egyptian empire the real kernel of its fixed, industrious population, skilled in art, and especially engaged in commerce and navigation. In their habits and mode of life they were directly opposed to those wandering Shasu, the children of Esau, who traversed the deserts, and only remained with their herds on the domain of Pharaoh so long as the pastures suited them and supplied sustenance for themselves and their cattle.

The influence of the settled Khar on Egyptian life is unmistakable in a thousand details, for a know-

ledge of which we have to thank the information of the monuments, and particularly the fragile rolls of papyrus. Even the strong city of Zoan, unless all the evidence is deceitful, seems to have been a primeval habitation of the Phœnicians, since, as well on the side of the water as by land, Zoan-Tanis, placed at the entrance to the Delta from the east, formed an important meeting-point for intercourse and trade with all the rest of Egypt. The name of the city, Zor, used as well as that of Zoan, reminds us too strongly of the celebrated Zor-Tyre in the native country of the Phœnicians, to allow us to pass it over in considering the traces of the Phœnician race.

The presence of the Khar-Phœnicians in Egypt is, as we have already observed, made known to us in the most explicit manner by the inscriptions. I have already spoken of those Semitic inhabitants who were employed in Egypt in all sorts of official service. Among the foremost of these were the Phœnicians, or Khar. Their importance culminates in the fact, newly revealed to us by the monuments, that a Khar or Phœnician, towards the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, was able to make himself master of the throne and the sovereignty over the Egyptians, as will be more fully narrated hereafter.[7]

The Khar spoke their own language, the Phœnician, upon the peculiarities of which, in its relation to the other Semitic languages, the Phœnician inscriptions that have been hitherto discovered have already

[7] See Vol. II. p. 142.

supplied valuable information. Of all the languages spoken by the Arabian and Western Asiatic nations and tribes, the monuments notice only the language of the Khar, with a distinct reference to its importance as the chief cultivated representative of all the rest. Whoever lived in Egypt spoke Egyptian ('the language of the people of Kemi'); whoever stayed in the south had of course to speak the language of the Nahesi, or dark-coloured people; while those who went northwards to the Asiatic region had to be acquainted with the language of the Phœnicians, in order to converse at all intelligibly with the inhabitants of the country.

The historical fact that the Phœnicians, in the most ancient times of Egyptian history, already formed a fixed settled population in the eastern marches of the Egyptian kingdom, finds a degree of confirmation, or, if we prefer to call it, illustration, from a remarkable circumstance. We refer to the presence of the latest descendants of this old Phœnician race in the same region where their forefathers settled thousands of years ago. At this day the traveller still meets on the shores of Lake Menzaleh, near the old towns and districts of Ramses and Pitom, a distinctly peculiar race of fishermen and sailors, whose manners and customs, whose historical traditions, faint though they be, and whose ideas on religious matters, characterize them as foreigners in contrast with the Egyptians proper. The inhabitants of this country, formerly Christians, who call themselves by the name of Malakin, were restless and refractory subjects of the

Khalifs. They are the same whom the Arab writers mention sometimes as Biamites or Bimaites, sometimes as Bashmurites, names of which science has hitherto been unable to discover the origin. The so-called Bashmurite dialect of the Coptic language is a kind of peasants' *patois* with certain peculiarities in the use of particular letters (for instance, the *b* and *l* in place of the *f* and *r* of the other dialects, the Sahidic and Memphite), but especially with an unmistakably large number of Semitic words, the origin of which goes back to the ancient times of our history.

The same inhabitants of the eastern provinces, who at the present day navigate in their barks the shallow waters of Lake Menzaleh, and carry on the fishery as their chief business, are, as has been said, the descendants of the Phœnician inhabitants of the Tanitic and Sethroitic nomes. These latter were the people who ages ago gave to the strong places of their Egyptian lords, and to the towns and villages which they once inhabited, and to the lakes and canals which they navigated, those Semitic appellations by which we have now learnt to know those places from the papyrus rolls.

What, however, forms the most characteristic mark of their ancient and now forgotten origin, is their non-Egyptian countenance, as if borrowed from the pictures of the Hyksos, with the broad cheek-bones and defiantly pouting lips, which more than anything else give to the boatman of Lake Menzaleh the stamp of the foreigner.

The history of the inhabitants of the eastern

borders lies buried and forgotten under the rubbish-heaps of thousands of years. And yet their fathers were once the lords of the fate of Egypt, before whose rough mighty strength the Pharaohs bowed themselves without power to resist, only to pass for centuries a furtive existence in the southern portions of the empire. Set had conquered Osiris. How this happened we shall see more particularly in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PERIOD OF FOREIGN DOMINATION.
JOSEPH IN EGYPT.

We have now arrived at that dark age of Egyptian history, which Manetho, the Egyptian priest and scribe, had in his mind, when he spoke of the dynasty of the Hyksos. Whatever we may think of the value and the trustworthiness of this appellation, which has been handed down to us by those who had the good fortune to possess and make their extracts from the now lost work of the Egyptian scholar when it existed in full completeness, one thing must remain certain in spite of manifold criticisms and apparent difficulties, and that is the name Hyksos. For this name deserves very special attention, considering the source from which it has come to us, and that for two reasons: first, because this source was originally an old Egyptian one, and next, because the monuments support it as a fixed resting-point, and they by no means refuse the desired confirmation of the events thus described.

According to the account of Manetho, which has been preserved to us in a transcript by the Jewish historian Josephus,[1] the Egyptian lowlands were at

[1] Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 14. The quotation is also preserved by

one time overrun by a wild and rude people, who came from the regions of the East, conquered the native kings who dwelt there, and took possession of the whole country, without meeting any great opposition on the part of the Egyptians. The account of this in Josephus is as follows :—

'There was a king called TIMÆUS (Timaius ; *var. lect.* Timaos, Timios). In his reign, I know not for what reason, God was unfavourable, and a people of inglorious origin from the regions of the East suddenly attacked the land, of which they took possession easily and without a struggle. They overthrew those who ruled in it, burnt down the cities, and laid waste the sanctuaries of the gods. They ill-treated all the inhabitants, for they put some to the sword, and carried others into captivity with their wives and children.

Then they made one of themselves king, whose name was SALATIS (*var. lect.* Saltis, Silitis ; in the list, Saïtes). He fixed his residence at Memphis, collected the taxes from the upper and lower country, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places. But he especially fortified the Eastern frontiers, for he foresaw that the Assyrians, who were then the most powerful people, would endeavour to make an attack on his kingdom.

'When he had found in the Sethroïte nome a city very conveniently situated to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile—on account of an old religious legend, it was called Auaris [2]—he extended it, fortified it with very strong walls, and placed in it a garrison of 240,000 heavily-armed troops.. Thither he betook himself in summer, partly to watch over the distribution of provisions and the counting out of the pay to his army, and partly to inspire the foreigners with fear by making his army perform military exercises.

He died after he had reigned . . . 19 yrs.
His successor, by name BNON (or Banon, Beon), reigned . . . . . 44 yrs.

Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* x. 13, and *Chron. Armen.* pp. 122, f. ed. Aucher, pp. 107, f. ed. Zohrab and Mai.—ED.

[2] We have seen above that this religious legend was the worship of the left leg of Osiris, as the symbol of the eastern arm of the Nile (Chap. XI. p. 236).—ED.

After him another, APACHNAN (or Apachnas)	36 yrs. 7 months
After him APHOBIS (or Aphophis, Apophis, Aphosis)	61 yrs.
And ANNAS (or Janias, Jannas, Anan)	50 yrs. 1 month
Last of all ASSETH (or Aseth, Ases, Assis)	49 yrs. 2 months

'These six were the first kings. They carried on uninterrupted war, with a view to destroy the land of Egypt, even to extermination.

'The whole people bore the name of HYKSOS, that is "king shepherds" (commonly called "shepherd kings"). For *hyk* in the holy language signifies a "king," and *sos* in the dialect of the people a "shepherd" or "shepherds." Thus combined they form *Hyksos*. Some think they were Arabs.'[3]

We first direct our attention to the last statement, because it is of great importance for determining the origin of this obscure people. If the kind reader will now call to memory what we have said about the Arab Bedouins, who inhabited the desert to the east of Egypt, and were called in Egyptian *Shasu* (also Shasa, Shaus, Shauas), he will certainly agree with us in the opinion, that those who held the Arab origin of the Hyksos must have drawn their information from a genuine Egyptian source. For the word *Sos* corresponds exactly to the old Egyptian *Shasu*, in which the sound *sh*,[4] which did not exist

[3] A fuller and somewhat more literal translation of the passage is given in the *Student's Ancient History of the East*, chap. iv. § 16.—ED.

[4] We will adduce in proof of this further examples, borrowed from the work of Manetho, which leave no doubt that the Greek letter *s* was used to represent the old Egyptian sound *sh*. Manetho transcribes the following kings' names, Sheshonq as Sesonchis, Shabak as Sabaco, Shabatak as Sebichos. The name of king Khufu, also, which the Egyptians at the time of the composition of the work of Manetho pronounced Shufu, furnishes a proof by Manetho's transcription of it as Suphis. The older and only correct

in Greek, is, according to custom, replaced by a simple *s*. Although Manetho, in his age, renders it by the current meaning of 'shepherd,' he was only led to do so by a strange confusion, since, in order to explain the second part (*sos*) of the *ancient* name Hyksos, he resorts to the *modern* popular dialect of his own time, in which, by an accidental coincidence, *sos* (or *shos*, as the word is still pronounced in the Coptic tongue) had the sense of 'shepherd.'

We have already remarked[5] how from time to time the Bedouin people of the Shasu knocked at the door of the Eastern frontier to request admission into Egypt. We have obtained, from the testimony of a record of the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the certainty of their presence on Egyptian soil, when hunger drove them from their native hills and valleys to the Eastern borders of the Pharaonic empire. Like the modern Bedouins, the Shasu were a pastoral people in the fullest sense of the word. The old national name of the Shasu or Shaus-Bedouins in the course of time obtained, in the popular language, the secondary sense of 'shepherds,' that is, a nomad people, who followed the occupation of rearing cattle, which has at all times formed the sole wealth of the inhabitants of the desert down to the present day.

If the objection should be raised that the monuments (but only, be it remembered, those *as yet* discovered) pass over the name of Hyksos in complete silence, this seeming argument loses all its impor-

pronunciation of this name has been faithfully preserved in the 'Cheops' of Herodotus.

[5] Chap. XI. p. 248, f.

tance from the following consideration. By far the greatest number of contemporary monuments, which formerly existed as the only witnesses to the remembrance of historical events under the rule of the foreign kings, have completely disappeared from the surface of the Egyptian soil. It must be left to some fortunate accident to bring to the light of day the stones now hidden we know not where, or buried deep under heaps of *débris*, which are preserving for us the materials for new conclusions about this age of the history of the old Egyptian empire, which is as obscure as it is memorable. The wonderland on the banks of the mighty Nile is a land of continual and surprising discoveries,[6] and will remain so for all coming times and generations. In the hope of meeting with important disclosures in this region as the result of new discoveries, we should act unwisely if we gave to our views the absolute form of a final unalterable judgment. Meanwhile we may well be allowed to compare the information of the inscriptions on the few extant traces of the monuments of the intruders with the accounts of the Greek tradition, and thence to form our own opinion, leaving it to the future, whether a happy accident shall confirm or refute our conjectures.

At the present moment, we emphatically affirm the complete agreement of the name of the Hyksos in the Manethonian tradition with the supposed Egyptian compound word *Hak-Shaus*, that is, 'king of the Arabs,' or 'king of the shepherds,' the full

[6] 'L'Égypte est le monde des surprises.'—FRENCH EDITION.

possibility of which is proved by the actual existence of a similar form in the term Hak Abisha, 'king (or prince) of the land of Abisha,' which we meet with in the sepulchral hall of Khnumhotep at Beni-Hassan. We will not, however, maintain, on the other hand, that the appellation Hak-Shaus was that which the bearers of it, of whatever descent they may at any time have boasted, had invented for themselves of their own accord, and assumed on account of their office. Rather is it very probable that the Egyptians, after the final expulsion of their tyrants of Semitic blood, formed the nickname Hak-Shasu as a contemptuous expression for these princes, who for several centuries had regarded themselves as the legitimate kings of Egypt.

An ancient tradition, which has been preserved by several Arabian historians of the Middle Ages, furnishes a contribution to the proofs of the Arab origin of the hated Hyksos kings. An Arabian legend tells us of a certain Sheddad (the name means 'a mighty man'), the son of Ad, who made an irruption into Egypt, conquered the country, and extended his victorious campaign as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. He and his descendants, the founders of the Amalekite dynasty, are said to have maintained themselves more than two hundred years in Lower Egypt, where they made the town of Avaris their royal residence.[7]

According to another tradition, known by the testimony of Julius Africanus (one of those who epitomized the work of Manetho), the Hyksos kings

[7] Compare Flügel, *Geschichte der Araber*, 2nd ed. p. 11.

are said to have been Phœnicians, who took possession of Memphis, and made the city of Auaris or Avaris, in the Sethroïte nome, their chief fortress.[8] This tradition also is not without a certain appearance of truth, if the reader will recal to mind what I have ventured to state above, regarding the Khar-Phœnicians and the city of Avaris. The ancient seats of the Shasu-Arabs and of the Phœnicians extended towards the west to the same city of Zor-Tanis ; consequently the two races must have come into the closest contact —the first as wandering, the latter as settled inhabitants of the eastern borders of the Egyptian empire which were occupied by the foreigners. That, amidst such a mixture of nations, the cultivated Khar would obtain the foremost place, seems scarcely to require proof. Whether they or the Shasu were the originators of the movement against the native kings of the empire, is a question which scientific research has hitherto wanted the means for deciding.

Leaving the whole field of conjectures and calculation of probabilities, let us now turn to the monuments in order to put to them the question as to the existence of authentic traces of these foreigners. The answer is decidedly in the affirmative, but in a form so general, that further inspection and examination of their testimony is very necessary. The inscriptions designate that foreign people, who once ruled in Egypt till they were driven from the country

[8] Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* pars i. cap. xx. ; and Syncell. : 'The Seventeenth Dynasty of Shepherds, who were *Phœnician brothers*, foreign kings, who took Memphis.' See above, pp. 255, f.—ED.

by the Theban kings, by the name of *Men* or *Menti*. On the great table of nations on the walls of the temple of Edfou, it is stated that 'the inhabitants of the land of *Asher* are called Menti.' By the help of the demotic translation of the trilingual[9] inscription on the great stone of Tanis, known under the name of the 'Decree of Canopus' (an authority, it is true, of the Ptolemaic times), we can establish that such was the common name of Syria in the popular language of the Egyptians who were then living; while the older name of the same country, cited in the hieroglyphic part of the stone, was *Rutennu*, with the addition, 'of the East.'[1] In the different languages, therefore, and in the different periods of history, the following names are synonymous: Syria, Rutennu of the East, Asher, and Menti: and here we may point out (although we leave the question undecided), that in the late Egyptian Asher, the Semitic Ashur or Assyria may perhaps survive, having been at last contracted, both as to the extent of country and in common speech, to the well-known geographical term Syria.

We regard as of high importance for the present question the first appearance of the old national

[9] So in the French Edition, though in the German work Dr. Brugsch calls it 'bilingual' (*doppelsprachigen*), referring, we suppose, to the two *Egyptian* versions (hieroglyphic and demotic), to which, however, a *Greek* version is added (just as on the Rosetta stone). This very perfect stone was discovered by Lepsius in 1866, and is now in the Museum at Boulaq. The inscription, dated in the ninth year of Ptolemy III. Euergetes (B.C. 238), is translated by Dr. Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 81, f.—ED.

[1] The Greek text translates the name by *Syria* (ΣΥΡΙΑ).

name, *Rutennu* (or Lutennu), which plays so important a part in the history of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and in the warlike campaigns of the Pharaohs to the East. As to the geographical extent of this name, we are fortunately so well informed that a mistake is no longer possible. In the great catalogue of the towns of Western Asia conquered by Thotmes III.,[2] whose inhabitants submitted to the Egyptian rule after the battle of Megiddo, they are described in a general superscription as all the population of 'the upper land of Rutennu.' This proves, in the most positive manner, that the name of Upper Rutennu must have coincided almost exactly with the country included later within the boundaries of the twelve tribes of Israel.

With this key in hand, many a closed door is opened to the right understanding of the great movements of tribes on the east of Egypt, so that we can survey with a clearer glance the horizon of these migrations. As it is an undeniable fact, resulting from historical research under the guidance of the monuments, that, immediately after the driving out of the Menti, the Egyptian kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty directed their campaigns of conquest against the countries of Western Asia inhabited by the Rutennu, there must have lain at the bottom of these obstinate and constantly repeated invasions the fixed motive of revenge and retribution for losses and injuries received.

[2] See Chapter XIII. pp. 392–3. We preserve Dr. Brugsch's variations in the spelling of the name, which he gives (except in a few passages) as *Thutmes*.—ED.

The conviction forces itself upon us with almost irresistible certainty, that the irruption of the foreigners into Egypt proceeded from the Syrians, who, in their progress through the arid desert, found in the Shasu-Arabs welcome allies who well knew the country;[3] and in the Semitic inhabitants settled in the eastern marches of Egypt they welcomed brothers of the same race, with whose help they succeeded in giving the death-blow to the Egyptian kingdom, and in robbing it for centuries of all power of volition and independent energy.

The present state of Egyptian research concerning the history of the Hyksos has enabled us to supply answers to a number of questions which stand in close connection with these events, and embrace the following facts:—

1. A certain number of non-Egyptian kings of foreign origin, belonging to the nation of the Menti, ruled for a long time in the eastern portion of the Delta.

2. The foreign princes had chosen as the capital of their dominion, besides the city of Zoan, the Typhonic town of Hauar or Avaris, on the east side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, within what was afterwards called the Sethroïte nome, and had provided it with strong fortifications.

3. The foreigners had adopted, not only the customs and manners of the Egyptians, but also their

[3] I would remind the reader of a similar alliance which Cambyses formed with the Arabs in his campaign against Egypt. (Herod. iii. 4–9.)

official language and writing. The whole order of their court was arranged on Egyptian models.

4. These same foreign kings were patrons of art. Egyptian artists erected, after the ancient patterns, and according to the prescribed usage of their forefathers, monuments in honour of the foreign tyrants. But yet, in their statues, they were obliged to reproduce the expression of the foreign physiognomy, the peculiar arrangement of the beard, the head-dress and the other variations of the foreign costume.

5. The foreign kings honoured, as the supreme god of their newly acquired country, the son of the heavenly goddess Nut, the god Set or Sutekh, with the surname Nub, 'gold,' or 'the golden,' who, according to the Egyptian conception, was the origin of all that is evil and perverse in the visible and invisible world, the opponent of good and the enemy of light. In the cities of Zoan and Avaris, the foreigners constructed splendid temples in honour of this god, and raised other monuments, especially Sphinxes, carved out of stone from Syene.

6. In all probability one of the foreign lords was the founder of a new era, which most likely began with the first year of his reign. Down to the reign of the second Ramses, four hundred full years had elapsed of this reckoning, which was acknowledged even by the Egyptians. (See pp. 297, foll.)

7. The Egyptians were indebted to the stay of the foreigners, and to their contact with them in the intercourse of life, for much useful knowledge. In particular the horizon of their artistic views was ex-

panded, and new forms and shapes were introduced into Egyptian art, the Semitic origin of which is obvious from a single glance at the productions of that art. The winged Sphinx may be reckoned as a notable example of this new direction of art introduced from abroad.

We remarked above that the number of monuments which contain memorials of the time of the Hyksos is very limited; and we must add that the names of the Hyksos kings, with which they covered their own memorial-stones (statues, Sphinxes, and similar works), as well as those of earlier Egyptian kings of the times before them, have reached us half obliterated or carefully chiselled out, so that, in deciphering the faint traces which remain, we have to contend with great difficulties. This mighty gap in the testimony of the Egyptian monuments finds a sufficient explanation in the fact, certain and easily understood, that the succeeding kings of native race, who ascended the throne after the expulsion of the foreigners, diligently set themselves, before everything else, to obliterate carefully every remembrance of those hated princes, and to devote their works to destruction and annihilation.

The names of the Hyksos kings, which cover the more than life-size statue at Tell Mukhdam, the border of the stand of the colossal Sphinx in the Louvre, the lion found near Baghdad, and the sacrificial stone in the Museum of Boulaq, are scratched out with great care, so as to be almost undistinguishable; and science owes merely to a happy accident the preservation

and deciphering of the names of two Hyksos kings. These are—

1. The king, whose first cartouche contains the name RA-AA-QENEN,[4] and whose second cartouche encloses the family name APOPI, or APOPA :—and,

2. King NUBTI, or NUB, with the official name SET-AA-PE-HUTI (properly, 'Set the powerful').[5]

The name of the first-mentioned king, which would have been pronounced in the Memphian dialect Aphophi, differs little from that of the Shepherd king Aphobis (or Aphophis, Apophis),who, according to the Manethonian tradition, was the fourth of the above-named Hyksos kings. We must add the remark,

[4] This reading is given in Dr. Brugsch's 'Additions and Corrections,' instead of *Ra-aa-ab-taui*. Dr. Brugsch adds the following Note : 'After repeated and careful examinations of the names of king Apopi, as I possess them in impressions of the monument of San (Tanis), and of the sacrificial stone of Boulaq, I have become almost certain of the reading *qenen* instead of *ab-taui* in the name in the first cartouche, *Ra-aa-qenen* (or *qen*). This fact is very remarkable, as among the immediate (native) predecessors of king Aahmes (the first of Dynasty XVIII.), the third Taa (see below, p. 282) bore the same name *Ao-* or *Aa-qen* (*Aa-qenen*), only with the difference, that this appellation is appended to the family name Taa, whereas in the name of Apopi it stands in the first cartouche.'—In the French Edition the king's name is translated 'the gracious god *Ra-a-ab-taui* [*Ra-aa-qenen*], the son of the sun, *Apopi*.'

[5] In the French Edition, 'the king *Set-a-pehti*, the son of the sun, *Nub*.' A note in the French edition repeats the remark already made (p. 244) on the connection of gold with Set, the god of destruction, in consequence of the baleful power ascribed to gold by the Semitic nations, and observes that the compound word *hanub*, 'chamber of gold,' is used to designate the chamber of the sarcophagus in the royal vaults of Bab-el-molouk.—ED.

that many Egyptians of those times likewise showed a special inclination for taking the name of Apopi or Apopa.

The names which designate the other Hyksos king are strikingly similar in sound to the names which the god 'Set-Nub the powerful' usually bears on the Egyptian monuments. Was it the intention of the foreign prince to be prayed to as the god Set?

Into the midst of the deep darkness, in which a pitiless fate has hidden the history of the invasion and the dominion of the Hyksos kings in Egypt, a bright ray of light falls only towards the close of the tyranny of the foreigners.

In a roll of papyrus in the British Museum[6] we possess, although unfortunately much interrupted by gaps, the beginning of an historical recital, which is connected with the names of the foreign king Apopi and the Egyptian under-king RA-SEKENEN, the victorious Sun-god Ra, who were contemporaries. It is the glory of that master of science, E. de Rougé, too soon lost to us, to have first recognised the high value of this writing in its full importance. It begins with the following words:—

PAGE I. (1) 'It came to pass that the land of Kemi belonged to the enemies. And nobody was lord in the day when that happened. At that time there was indeed a king Ra-Sekenen, but he was only a Hak of the city of the South, but the enemies sat in

[6] Sallier, No. I.—The fragments of this papyrus have been translated by Dr. E. L. Lushington, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 263, and in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 1, f.—ED.

the town of the Amu, and (2) Apopi was king (Ur) in the city of Avaris. And the whole world brought him its productions, also the North country did likewise with all the good things of Tameri. And the king Apopi (3) chose the god Set for his divine lord, and he did not serve any of the gods which were worshipped in the whole land. He built him a temple of glorious work, to last for ages [. . . And the king] (4) Apopi [appointed] feasts [and] days to offer [the sacrifices] at every season to the god Sutekh.'

The king Ra-Sekenen in 'the city of the South' had, according to all appearance, incurred the special displeasure of the tyrant of Avaris, who designed to hurl him from the throne, and sought for reasons and pretexts to carry out his intention.

Before this there had evidently been an interchange of letters between the tyrant in the North and the Hak in the Southern land, in which the former, among other things, required of the latter to give up the worship of his gods, and to worship Sutekh[7] alone as the sole divinity of the country. Ra-Sekenen had declared himself prepared for all, but had added a proviso to his letter, in which he expressly declared (to allow him to speak for himself)

PAGE II. (1) '. . . he was not able to pledge his assent [to serve] any other of the gods that were worshipped in the whole country, but Amon-Ra, the king of the gods alone.'

This new message to the unfortunate Hak of the

[7] We venture to substitute this name for the 'Amon-ra' of Dr. Brugsch's text, from the whole sense of the passage. The demand itself was recorded in one of the missing passages of the papyrus, as is evident from the fragments that follow.—ED.

southern city had been drawn by a council and approved of by king Apopi. The papyrus relates this in the words :—

(II. 1 *continued*) 'Many days later after these events (2) king Apopi sent to the governor of the city in the South country this message, [. . . .] which his scribes had drawn up for him.— (3) And the messenger of king Apopi betook himself to the governor of the city in the South. And [the messenger] was brought before the governor of the city in the South country. (4) He spoke thus, when he spoke to the messenger of king Apopi : "Who hath sent thee hither to this city of the South ? How art thou come, *in order to spy out ?*"'

The messenger of king Apopi, thus addressed, first answered the governor in these simple words :— 'It is king Apopi who sends to thee,' and thereupon he delivered his message, the purport of which was very disquieting to the governor. It related the stopping of a canal. The concluding remark of the messenger, that he had not taken sleep either day or night until he had fulfilled his mission, must have appeared to him mere mockery. The writer paints the situation of the Hak in the few but plain words which follow :—

'(6) And the governor of the city in the South country was for a long time troubled so that he could not (7) answer the messenger of king Apopi.'

But he nerved himself and made a reply to the messenger. Unfortunately the main contents of it have been torn out by the mutilation of the papyrus at this place. After the foreign messenger had been hospitably entertained, he travelled back to the court of king Apopi, while Ra-Sekenen in all haste

called his councillors around him. The papyrus relates the matter thus:—

'(11) And the messenger of king Apopi returned to the place where his lord was staying. (III. 1) Thereupon the governor of the city of the South called unto him his great and chief men, likewise the captains and generals who accompanied him, (2) in order [to communicate] to them all the messages which king Apopi had sent to him. But they were silent all of them (*lit.* all with one mouth) through great grief, and wist not what to answer him good or bad.'

After the following words, 'then sent king Apopi to the'—, the writer breaks off in the middle of a sentence, without satisfying the curiosity of his readers of two-and-thirty centuries later. For the papyrus goes on next to the beginning of the letters of Pentaur, the poet of the well-known heroic song of the great deeds of Ramses II. at Kadesh.[8]

Although this precious writing is frequently interrupted by holes and rents, owing to the splitting of the papyrus, sometimes in the most important passages of the narrative of Apopi, still what remains is quite sufficient to make known to us the persons, the scene, and the subject of the historical drama.

King Apopi is presented to us as its chief hero. His royal residence is at Avaris. Enemies, foreigners, have taken possession of Egypt, whose inhabitants are obliged to pay to the foreign tyrant a tax of their substance and possessions. Apopi worships his own divinity, the god Sutekh, already known to us as the Egyptian form of the Semitic Baal, more especially

[8] See Vol. II. pp. 56, foll.

of Baal Zapuna, the Baal-zephon of Holy Scripture. He builds a splendid temple to his god, and appoints festivals and offerings to him.

In the south of the land, to speak more precisely, at No, 'the city of the South,' that is, at Thebes, the capital of Pa-tor-is, 'the region of the South' (the biblical Pathros), there resides a scion of the oppressed Pharaohs, Ra-Sekenen, invested only with the title of Hak, or petty king.

King Apopi is the all-powerful universal ruling lord. Among his courtiers are submissive scribes, who bear the remarkable title of *Rekhi-khet*, that is, 'skilled in affairs' (or 'experts').[9] They give the king counsel, bad counsel it appears, for they induce him to send a messenger to the petty king in No, with severe demands, such as would have been worthy of a Cambyses. The messenger allows himself no rest, but hurries to the South country day and night.

The petty king, Ra-Sekenen, receives him with the same question which Joseph, his contemporary, put to his own brethren when they went down to Egypt to buy corn, saying to them, 'Whence come ye? Ye are spies, and ye are come here to see where the land lies open.'[1]

After the Hak had received the communication

[9] On the Stone of Tanis the Greek translator renders this term by the well-known word *Hierogrammateis*, or 'Temple scribes.'

[1] Gen. xlii. 9. So too in our version, 'the nakedness of the land' does not mean its destitute state during the famine, but that exposure of the frontier, which has been fully explained in the preceding chapter; as in the Latin phrases, *nuda urbs præsidio*, *nudata castra*, and in Homer (*Il.* xii. 399) τεῖχος ἐγυμνώθη.—Ed.

of all the demands of the tyrant Apopi from the mouth of his messenger, he was deeply moved by their dangerous import. The great lords and chief men of his court are summoned to a council; and the leaders also of the army, the *Uau* or captains, and the *Hauti* or generals, take part in it. But good counsel is scarce. No one dared to make a proposal for fear of the unfortunate consequences.

Such is an abstract of this remarkable document. We may confidently assume, without knowing the conclusion of the whole story, that the author must have had some other object in his relation than to exhibit the humiliation of a native Hak. The subject was, without doubt, much rather *the history of the uprising of the Egyptians against the yoke of the foreigners*. To make us acquainted with the cause and primary significance of this movement, the unknown narrator introduces his account of the beginning of the war of liberation with the above-cited description of the unfortunate position of the empire. The story so sadly begun was to have a fortunate end, and of this happy conclusion positive proofs from the monuments are by no means wanting.

In order to find them let us betake ourselves to the South country, and, passing by the cities of Thebes, Hermonthis and Latopolis, on the two sides of the river, let us stop on the right bank, in sight of the great ancient city-wall at El-Kab. This wall reveals to us the position and extent of the former capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt, which the Greeks designated as the city of Eileithyia, the goddess pre-

siding over births, and the Romans as the city of Lucina, in their enumeration of the Egyptian towns. In the background, towards the East, rise rocky hills, with long rows of tombs, whose dark openings appear to the traveller like the broken windows of a ruined castle.

We enter the chambers of the tombs. A painted world of the olden time, the life and actions of the ancient forefathers, the forms of deceased ancestors, meet us at every step in the pictures which are still preserved. In the venerable forms, which seem to animate these abodes of the dead, we greet the contemporaries of the Hyksos kings, whose descendants were among the heroes of the great war of liberation of the Egyptians against the tyranny of the foreigners.

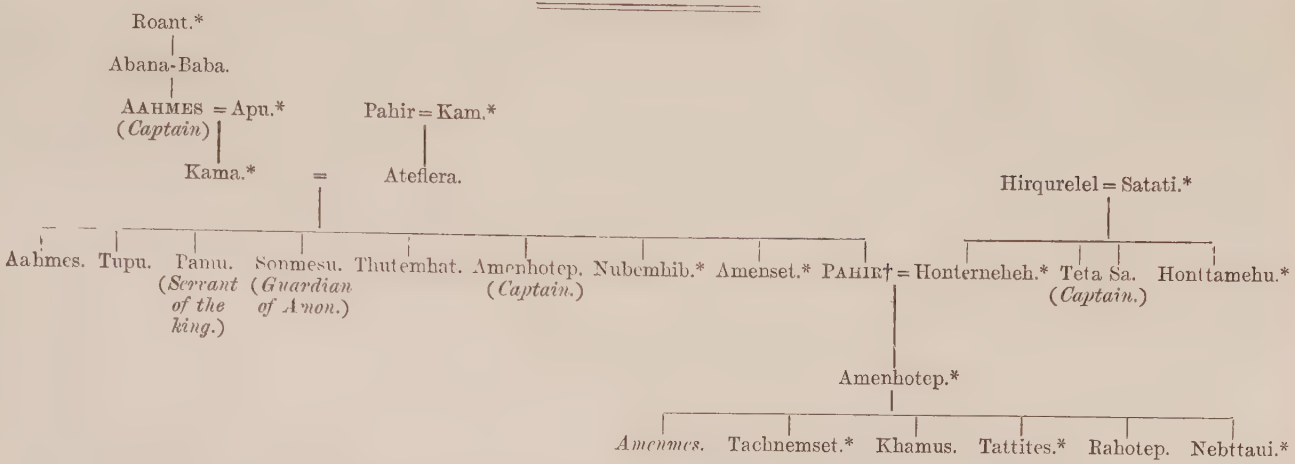
Let us enter that sepulchral chamber, which a grandson has dedicated to the hero AAHMES, the son of ABANA-BABA, and his whole house, as a last memorial of their existence and of their deeds. A wide-branching genealogical tree of the family covers the walls of the narrow and much-damaged room. We have put this together in the appended Table with the greatest completeness possible, according to the statements of the inscriptions.

Aahmes, the son of Baba-Abana, and his daughter's son, Pahir, form the chief persons of the pedigree.

Before we listen to the words of the hero, who, in a great text on the wall of the sepulchral chamber, relates to us the history of his life in the simple language of the time, we may be permitted to premise

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF THE CAPTAIN OF THE SAILORS, *AAHMES*,

DRAWN UP ON THE SPOT FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TOMB AT EL-KAB, IN UPPER EGYPT.



N.B.—The names marked with an asterisk (*) are those of women.

This is the Pahir who constructed the tomb and set up the inscription.

some necessary observations on the kings who were contemporary with him.

The sub-king Ra-Sekenen, mentioned in the history of Apopi, the shepherd king, was not alone in bearing this appellation which we find to be his regal name. Two other kings, his forefathers, were likewise called Ra-Sekenen, and all three bore also the identical family name, TAA. There were, therefore, three Ra-Sekenens with the same name, Taa. The inscriptions distinguish them, however, by special surnames, so that TAA II. was known by the addition *A*, or *Ao*, that is, 'the great,' and TAA III. by the epithet *Ken*, that is, 'the brave or victorious.'

They were buried after their decease in the same city in which Ra-Sekenen, the contemporary of king Apopi, exercised his functions as a simple Hak. This was Thebes, called No, that is, 'the city,' *par excellence*, which was soon after to be exalted, under the kings of the succeeding dynasty, into the widely celebrated NOA, that is, 'the great city.'

Even if the tombs of the Taa had not yet been discovered on the very spot, their existence on Theban soil is nevertheless certainly proved by a testimony of the old time. In the Abbot papyrus, which is among the most valuable treasures of the British Museum—the same which contains the official report of the times of the Twentieth Dynasty on the burglarious opening and robbing of the royal tombs—the burial-places now sought for are mentioned in their order by the architects of Pharaoh.[2]

[2] See Vol. II. pp. 189, 190.—ED.

The graves of the following kings and queens are enumerated in succession in the order of time, which also partly corresponds with their local position.

King Si-ra Nen-a (XIth Dynasty).
King Nub-kheper-ra Nentef (XIth.)
King Ra Seshem Sesheti-taui Sebekemsauf (XIIIth.)
King Ra-Sekenen Taa I.
King Ra-Sekenen Taa II., 'the Great.' } (XVIIth.)
King Uot-kheper-ra Kames.
Aahmes Sipar (XVIIIth Dynasty).

As they were buried in Thebes, these Taa must have reigned in Thebes. The dynasty to which they belonged must therefore have been a Theban one, that is the Seventeenth Dynasty of Diospolis, according to the statement of Manetho.

Instead of any further historical discussions, we will lay before the reader a faithful translation of the inscription in which Aahmes portrayed in antique language the course of his life, as a picture of that time for after ages. The actual author of the inscription is 'the son of his daughter, who executed the works in this sepulchral chamber, in order to perpetuate the name of the father of his mother, the master of the art of drawing for Amon, Pahir.'

The following are the words of the inscription as the artist Pahir executed it:[3]—

'(1) The deceased captain of the sailors, Aahmes, a son of Abana:—

'(2) He speaks thus: "I speak to you, all people, and I inform you of the reward of honour which was given to me. I was pre-

[3] The inscription is translated by Mr. Le Page Renouf, in *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 5, foll.—ED.

sented with golden gifts eight times in the sight (3) of the whole land, and with male and female slaves in great numbers. I had a possession of many acres. The surname of 'the brave' which I gained will never perish (4) in this land."

'He speaks further thus: "I completed my youthful wandering in the city of Nukheb (Eileithyia). My father was a captain of the deceased king RA-SEKENEN; Baba (5), son of Roant, was his name. Then I became captain in his place on the ship 'The Calf,' in the time of the lord of the country, NEB-PEHUTI-R'A,[4] the deceased (i.e. king AAHMES, the founder of Dyn. XVIII.) (6) I was still young and unmarried, and was girded with the garment of the band of youths. But, after I had prepared for myself a house, I was taken (7) on board of the ship 'The North,' because of my strength. It was my duty to accompany the sovereign—life, prosperity, and health attend him!—on foot, when he went forth in his chariot.

'"8. They besieged the town of Avaris. My duty was to be valiant on foot before his Holiness. Then I was promoted (9) to the ship 'Ascent (or Accession) in Memphis.'[5] They fought by water on the lake Pazetku of Avaris. I fought hand to hand, and (10) I gained and carried off a hand.[6] This was shown to the herald of the king. I was presented with a golden gift for my bravery.

'"After that there was a new battle at that place, and I fought

[4] Here and elsewhere we give the regal titles by which the kings are mentioned in the texts, where Dr. Brugsch gives only the family names, with (when necessary) the distinctive *numbers*, which never occur in the texts, but are determined by the regal titles. Thus of the three kings named Thutmes, we know that the titles *Aa-Kheper-ka-ra*, *Aa-Kheper-en-ra*, and *Men-Kheper-ra*, belonged to Thutmes I., II., and III. respectively, and where Brugsch uses the *numbers* we must understand that the original texts give these *titles*. But it has not been considered necessary to repeat the titles at every mention of a king in the same inscription, or in those which come near together in book.—ED.

[5] *Kha-em-Memnefer* (Germ. *Aufgang in Memphis*), *lit.* 'crowned in Memphis' (Renouf).

[6] The hands of slain enemies were counted up after battles. See Chap. XIII. under the reign of Amenhotep III.—ED.

again hand to hand (11) there, and I carried off a hand. I was presented with a golden gift the second time.

'"And they fought at the place Takem at the south of that city (Avaris). (12) There I took a living prisoner, a grown-up man. I plunged into the water. Leading him thus so as to keep away from the road to the (13) city, I went, holding him firmly, through the water. They informed the herald of the king about me. Then I was presented with a golden present again. *They* (14) *took Avaris.* I took there prisoners, a grown-up man and three women, making in all four heads. His Holiness gave them into my possession as slaves.

'"15. They besieged the town Sherohan in the year VI. His Holiness took it. I carried away as booty two women and a hand. (16) I was presented with a golden gift for valour; and besides, the prisoners out of it were given to me as slaves.

'"After his Holiness had mown down the Syrians of the land of Asia, (17) he went against Khont-hon-nofer, to smite the mountaineers of Nubia (*Anti*). His Holiness made a great slaughter among them. (18) Then I carried away booty there, two living grown-up men and three hands. I was presented with a golden gift the second time: I also received two female slaves. (19) His Holiness went down the river. His heart was joyful because of his brave and victorious deeds. He had taken possession of the South and the North country.

'"Then an enemy came from the South country. (20) He approached. His advantage was the number of his people. The gods of the South country were against him (*lit.* his fist). His Holiness found him at the water of Tent-ta-tot. His Holiness carried him away (21) as a living prisoner. All his people brought back booty. I brought away two young people, for I cut them off from the ship of the enemy. There were (22) given me five heads, besides the portion of five hides (*sta*) of arable land in my city. It happened to all the sailors in the same way. Then (23) came that enemy whose name was Teta-an. He had assembled with him a wicked company. His Holiness annihilated him and his men, so that they no longer existed. Then were (24) given to me three people and five hides of arable land in my city.

'"I conveyed by water the deceased king SER-KA-RA (AMENHOTEP I.), when he went up to Kush to extend (25) the borders of Egypt. He smote these Nubians (*Anti*) in the midst of his

warriors. Being hard pressed, they could not escape. Bewildered (26) they remained on the ground just as if they had been nothing. Then I stood at the head of our warriors, and I fought as was right. His Holiness admired my valour. I carried off two hands (27) and brought them to his Holiness. We pursued his inhabitants and their herds. I carried off a living prisoner and brought him to his Holiness. I brought his Holiness in two days to Egypt (28) from Khnumt-hirt ('the upper spring'). Then I was presented with a golden gift. Then I carried off two female slaves besides those which I had led (29) to his Holiness. And I was raised to the dignity of a 'warrior of the king.'

'"I conveyed the deceased king AA-KHEPER-KA-RA (THUTMES I.), when he went up by water to Khont-hon-nofer (30) to put down the rebellion among the inhabitants, and to stop the raids from the land side. And I was brave [before] him on the water. Things went badly with the [attack] (31) of the ship on account of its stranding. They raised me to the rank of a captain of the sailors. His Holiness—may life, prosperity, and health be granted him!—"'

(32. Here follows a gap, which, judging by the context, should be filled up to the effect that a new occasion called the king to war against the people of the South.)

'"(33) His Holiness was furious against them like a panther, and his Holiness shot his first arrow, which remained sticking in the body of this enemy. He (34) fell down fainting before the asp (on the royal diadem). A [great defeat] took place there in a short time, and their people were carried away as living captives, (35) and his Holiness travelled downwards. All nations were in his power. And this miserable king of the Nubian people (*Anti*) was bound on the fore part of the ship of his Holiness, and he was placed on the ground (36) in the city of Thebes.[7]

'"After this his Holiness betook himself to the land of Rutennu, to slake his anger among the inhabitants of the land. His Holiness reached the land of Naharina. (37) His Holiness—life, prosperity, and health to him!—found these enemies. He set the battle in array. His Holiness made a great slaughter among

[7] Lit. at the *Apet*, the well-known name of the sacred part of Thebes (the city proper) east of the Nile, about the present villages of Luqsor and Karnak.—ED.

them. (38) Innumerable was the crowd of living prisoners which his Majesty [8] carried away after his victory. And behold, I was at the head of our warriors. His Holiness admired my valour. (39) I carried off a chariot of war and its horses, and those who were upon it, as living prisoners, and brought them to his Holiness. Then was I presented with gold once more.

'"40. Now I have lived many days and have reached a grey old age. My lot will be that of all men upon the earth. [I shall go down to the nether world, and be placed in the] coffin, which I have had made for myself."'

We add here a translation of the inscription on the memorial stone of another Aahmes, surnamed Pen-nukheb, which was likewise found in one of the chambers of the tomb at El-Kab.[9] He belonged to the same times; his death took place under the third Thotmes. After giving his name and offices, he proceeds:—

'(3) I served the deceased king AAHMES. I captured for him in the land of [. . . .] (4) a living [prisoner] and a hand.

'I served the king AMENHOTEP I. I captured for him in the land of Kush (5) a living prisoner. Again [in the service] of the deceased king Amenhotep I., I took for him in the north of the land of the Amu- (6) Kahak three hands.

'I served the deceased king THOTMES I. I captured for him in the land of Kush (7) two living prisoners, besides the living prisoners that I brought away from Kush. I do not reckon them

[8] Here the German has *Seine Majestät* instead of the usual *Seine Heiligkeit*.—ED.

[9] The inscription consists of two parallel columns, with a line between them containing the writer's act of homage of Osiris. Dr. Brugsch here gives the first column, and refers to the information on the second under the reigns of Aahmes and Amenhotep I. (Chap. XIII.) The whole inscription has been translated by Dr. Birch, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, new series, vol. ii. p. 323, and in *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. pp. 5, foll. Dr. Birch reads the surname of this Aahmes as *Pennishem*.—ED.

up. (8) Again in the service of the king Thotmes I., I took for him in the land of Nahari- (9) na twenty-one hands, a horse, and a war-chariot.[1]

'I served the deceased king THOTMES II. I brought for him from the land of the Shasu a great number of living prisoners. I do not reckon them up.'

The grievous time of distress and oppression for the Egyptian people was now past; for the reign of tyranny was broken up, after Avaris had fallen and another town of the Hyksos, the fortress of Sherohan, had been taken by storm. In the sixth year of the reign of king Aahmes, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty of the Pharaohs, Kemi was at last freed from the long oppression of the foreigners, and the armed soldiers of Pharaoh passed triumphantly through the lands in the south and the east of Egypt, to reconquer what had been lost and 'to wash their heart,' that is, to slake their anger against the enemies on foreign soil. But, not to forestal the events, of which the simple narratives of two warriors of that time have reproduced for us the true image, let us first cast one more glance at the conclusion of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

King TAA III., surnamed 'the brave,' a predecessor of the Pharaoh Aahmes, the conqueror of Avaris, reigned in No or Thebes. His attention was first turned to the creation of a Nile flotilla, with the purpose of one day attacking Avaris, which lay in

[1] The horse, which had been introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos, is here first mentioned on the monuments, and that by its Semitic name, *sus*.—ED.

the midst of the region of waters in the lowlands of the Delta.

His successor, named KAMES, seems to have reigned but a short time.[2] He was the husband of the much-venerated queen AAH-HOTEP, whose coffin with the golden ornaments on her body was discovered some years ago by some Theban peasants in the ancient necropolis of No, buried only a few feet below the surface of the ground. These venerable remains of Egyptian antiquity, precious both for art and history, were deposited in the Museum of Boulaq.[3]

The cover of the coffin has the shape of a mummy, and is gilt from top to bottom. The sacred royal asp decks the brow. The eyelids are gilt. The white of the eyes is inserted in quartz, and the pupils in black glass. A rich imitation-necklace covers the breast and shoulders; the Uræus serpent and the vulture—the sacred symbols of sovereignty over the Upper and Lower land of Kemi—lie below the necklace. A closed pair of wings seems to protect the rest of the body. Beneath the feet stand the statues of the mourning goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The inscription in the middle row gives us the name of the queen, Aah-hotep, that is 'delight of the moon.'[4]

[2] On the position of Kames and his consort, Aah-hotep, as probably linking the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Eleventh in a genealogical succession, see the note appended to this chapter.—ED.

[3] See Mariette-Bey's description in his *Notice sur les principaux monuments du Musée de Boulaq.*

[4] For the full inscription, see the note at the end of the chapter.—ED.

When the coffin was opened, there were found between the linen coverings precious weapons and ornaments: daggers, a golden axe, a chain with three large golden bees, and a breastplate. On the body itself were found a golden chain with a scarabæus attached, armlets, a fillet for the brow, and other objects. Two little ships in gold and silver, bronze axes, and great bangles for the ankles, lay immediately upon the wood of the coffin.[5]

The golden barque and the metal axes[6] exhibited the cartouche of king Kames (with the throne-name Uot-kheper-ra); but the richest and the most precious of the ornaments showed the shields of the Pharaoh Aahmes. He bears on them the surname of Nakht, that is, 'the brave or victorious.' Without doubt, then, queen Aah-hotep was buried in Thebes during the reign of her son Aahmes. Mention has already been made of the tomb of her royal husband at Thebes. Aah-hotep is therefore the proper ancestress of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It was her son Aahmes who was destined to rise up as the avenger of his native

[5] These ornaments have now acquired a twofold interest from their resemblance to those found by Dr. Schliemann in the royal tombs at Mycenæ. See Schliemann's *Mycenæ*, pp. 252 (axes), 228, 300, 301 (breastplates), 163 (daggers), 176 (gold chains with grasshoppers attached), 196, 223, 227 (bangles, or bracelets).—ED.

[6] This refers to the *bronze* axes; but the '*golden* axe'—(which is, in fact, of bronze thickly coated with gold-leaf, with a handle of cedar-wood, covered with gold-leaf and set with lapis-lazuli)—first made known, among the hieroglyphics which cover it, the full name of Aahmes, who is also represented on the blade in the act of striking down an enemy.—ED.

country for the shame and oppression it had so long endured.

And yet this age of shame involves a strange enigma, the veil of which we are not yet able to lift. On a minute examination of the monuments of the times of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties, many well-founded reflections force themselves upon us involuntarily; for it would seem as if the hatred of the Egyptians against the Hyksos kings was by no means so intense as the story handed down by Manetho appears to represent it. We of course except, when we speak of the Egyptians, the legitimate but oppressed kings of 'the region of the South' in the Upper country, to whom the foreign tyrants in the Lowlands must have appeared in an odious light.

For if that hatred was so universal as Manetho's picture of the conflagrations, sacking of temples, and persecutions of the inhabitants by the princes of the foreign domination gives us to understand, how is the strange fact to be explained that these same Egyptians, not excepting the college of priests of the Theban Amon, in the time of the Hyksos and the following dynasties, could prevail upon themselves to give their children pure Semitic names, borrowed from the language of their hereditary enemies? How could they themselves offer their homage to those gods of the strangers, who had done their land so much mischief, even to the extirpation of the native divinities? As an example, I may refer to a memorial stone of the time of king Amenhotep I. (now exhibited in the Louvre),[7] on which a Theban

[7] Compare Lieblein, *Namen-Wörterbuch*, No. 553, p. 183.

family employed in the temple of Amon is portrayed for six generations back, up to the times of the Hyksos kings. The members of this genealogy, for the most part, bear pure Semitic names. Even the original ancestor, Pet-Baal, calls himself literally 'the servant of Baal,' and his wife bears the foreign name, Abrakro. Among his descendants, the following men figure under Semitic designations: Atu, Tura, Aei, Tetaa; and the women: Ama, Tanafi, Hishelat, Kafeniae, Tir, Aui, Ituae. And were there not many Egyptians who called themselves Apopa, or Apopi, exactly like the shepherd-king, the contemporary of Ra-Sekenen? Let the reader turn over the pages of Lieblein's Dictionary, and he will meet everywhere with examples in confirmation of these facts. Far from repudiating the foreign names, which more than anything else were calculated to recal the remembrance of the Semitic tyranny, the Egyptians themselves were so forward in the voluntary adoption of the names of their so-called hereditary enemies, that they did not even shrink from those of the foreign kings.

If from this striking phenomenon we are justified in drawing a conclusion, it cannot be in favour of the story handed down by Manetho. Between the Egyptian and Semitic races—whatever may have been the exact complexion and descent of the latter—there certainly existed no such deep-rooted hereditary enmity as the interpreters would make us believe. There was, indeed, hatred on the part of the Theban race of kings, to whom their humiliation by the foreigners appeared all the more unendurable, as

they wanted strength and power to free themselves from their dependence on the foreign lords of the Low country. They had only at their command the weapons of the weaker against the stronger—namely, an exaggeration of the actual relations between them, in their description of the ruthless rage of the foreigners against everything native. Hence they derived a consolation and an excuse for their own inability to shake off the yoke, and to regain firm possession of the whole kingdom.

If from the point of view of high statesmanship,—to which, in the strife for independence, every means to the desired end appears right,—a certain justification may not be denied to the conception and representation of the Hyksos dominion by the people of Upper Egypt; yet the historian, on his part, has another task to perform. He has to establish historical truth from accomplished facts, to separate the kernel from the husk, without regard to the approval or blame of the partisans of this or that opinion. And in this view, common justice ought not to be denied to the Hyksos before the judgment-seat of the history of the world. We simply put the question: If those foreign kings were actually desecrators of the temples, devastators and destroyers of the works of former ages, how is it that these witnesses of antiquity still exist, although in the last stages of decay, especially in the chief seats of the Hyksos dominion?—and further, that these foreign kings caused their names to be engraved as tokens of remembrance on the works of native Pharaohs? Instead of destroying, they preserved them,

and sought by appropriate measures to perpetuate their persons and their memory on the extant monuments of earlier rulers. Zoan-Tanis, the capital of the Egyptian eastern marches, with its world of temples and statues of the times of the Sixth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Dynasties, had so little to suffer from the Hyksos, that, on the contrary, these sovereigns were careful to increase the splendour of the vast temple-city by their own works, though these were Semitic in conception and execution. It is rather to the Theban kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty that the questionable fame belongs of having exercised on the dead stones of the Hyksos a vengeance which their forefathers had in vain desired to take on their living founders.[8] To destroy the monuments of the hostile kings, to annihilate their names and titles beyond all recognition, and to falsify historical truth by the substitution of their own names,—such was the system invented by the Egyptian Pharaohs, beginning with the first princes of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who applied themselves to the work with such results as almost to succeed in extirpating and

[8] In the French Edition Dr. Brugsch quotes the following passage from M. Mariette-Bey, 'le juge le plus compétent de l'histoire des monuments' (*Notice sur les principaux monuments du Musée de Boulaq*):—'It is a doubtful assertion, that the great temple *suffered much from the invasion of the shepherds.* The second dynasty of these conquerors laboured even to augment its splendour, and placed in it remarkable works of art, conceived in an Egypto-Asiatic style, in which the Egyptian influence dominates. No trace of the Eighteenth Dynasty is found there. Tanis, which was thought *to have been ravaged by the shepherds, was doomed, on the contrary, to suffer by their departure,* and it is probable that Amosis dismantled the city which had been their capital.'—ED.

destroying from the face of the earth the contemporary memorials of the Hyksos kings. It is this persecution alone that we have to thank for the difficulties connected with the restoration of the history of the most ancient domination of foreigners in Egypt.

If an objection should be raised, or even a proof against our view be drawn from the fact that Aahmes, the conqueror of the Hyksos, and after him king Amenhotep III., according to the statements of the rock-inscriptions in the quarries of Mokattam, rebuilt and restored the temples which 'had fallen into ruins,' and which, therefore, were destroyed by the Hyksos,—we reply, that the inscriptions cited do not in any way mention that this decay had been a consequence of the destructive rage of the Hyksos. For the authors of those rock-tablets, the oldest of which goes back to the time of an Amenemhat of the Twelfth Dynasty,[9] make use of words like those which are found in similar memorial inscriptions of all ages. They simply remark that 'the temples had fallen into ruin since the time of their forefathers.' The only allusion to foreigners, and this has nothing to do with any destruction by them, is found on the rock-tablets of the twenty-second year of king Aahmes. It runs thus, word for word:—

'This stone was drawn by oxen, which were brought here, [and entrusted to the] care [of the] foreign people of the Fenekh.'

[9] Compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 143, i. On the upper piece of the rock-tablet are seen the figures of the Memphian god Patah and of the divinities of Troja: a Hathor and the Anubis-jackal of Sap. The inscription below runs: 'New chambers were opened in the rock, in order to quarry limestone of An to use for the long-enduring temple of the Holiness of this god (namely Patah).'

These Fenekh, or Fenikh , to whom we shall afterwards return, appear clearly to be the most ancient representatives of the Phœnicians on Egyptian soil.

Before we conclude this chapter, we may be allowed to make some remarks on the chronological relations of these historical events, with special reference to the sojourn of the Hyksos, on the one hand, and of the children of Israel, on the other hand, in the land of Egypt. We have already mentioned a memorial stone of the days of the second Ramses, found in Tanis, the inscription on which commences with the following indication of its date: 'In the year 400, on the 4th day of the month Mesori of king Nub.' The tablet of red granite, engraved with an act of homage, in memory of king Seti I., was set up by a high officer of state of the same name (evidently a scion of the royal family) by the order of Ramses II. After the usual glorification of the king, the inscription proceeds as follows:—

'His Majesty (king Ramessu II.) gave orders to raise a great memorial of granite (of Syene) to the exalted name of his father, animated by the desire to uphold thereby the name of his (royal) father and of his forefathers.

'May the remembrance of king Ma-men-ra (Mineptah Seti I.) remain, and endure for ever, to-day and every day!

'In the year 400, the month Mesori, the 4th day, of king Set 'Apehuti-Nub, the friend of the god Hormakhu—may he live for ever and ever! When there had come (to this city) the hereditary lord and the chief governor of the city, the fan-bearer on the right of the king, the leader of the foreign legions and captain of the foreigners, the constable of the fortress of Khetam (the Etham of Scripture) of Zal, the leader of the Mazai (police), the royal scribe,

the chief master of the horse, the high-priest of the Ram-god in Mendes, the high priest of the god Sutekh and the praying-priest of the goddess Buto Aptani, the chief of the prophets of all the gods, Seti, the son of the hereditary prince, the commander of the foreign legions, the captain of the foreigners, the constable of Khetam in Zal, the royal scribe and master of the horse, Pi-ra-messu, the child of the lady and priestess of the sun-god Ra, Thaa,—then spake he thus : " Hail to thee, Set, son of Nub, thou strong one, in the holy ship, &c. ; grant me a fortunate existence, that I may serve thee, and grant me to remain [in thy house for evermore]."'[1]

Since, on the basis of the most recent and best investigations in the province of ancient Egyptian chronology, we reckon the year 1350 B.C. as a mean computation for the reign of the above-named Ramses, the reign of the Hyksos king Nub, and probably its beginning, falls in the year 1750 B.C., that is 400 years before Ramses II. Although we are completely in the dark as to the place which king Nub occupied in the succession of the kindred princes of his house, yet the number mentioned is important, in

[1] This 'Tablet of 400 years' is also translated by Dr. S. Birch, in *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. pp. 33, foll. We have transferred to this more appropriate place the translation which Dr. Brugsch gives in Chapter XIV., where the stone is only mentioned incidentally among the ruins of Tanis. (Vol. II. pp. 99.) Besides the *date* now in question, the record is of great historical importance as a lasting witness to the respect (or even devotion) of Ramses II. for the Shepherd Kings, who were not improbably his ancestors, as will be shown in speaking of his father Seti I. (Vol. II. p. 24.) We here see that king's name side by side with his namesake *Set*-Nubti; and we find this chief of the Hyksos kings receiving a perpetual tribute of divine honours from Ramses II., and having a high-priest, probably of the royal family. It is also worth notice, how fully the sovereignty of the Hyksos over all Egypt is recognized, as Nubti is styled 'King of the Upper and Lower country.'—ED.

the first place, as an approximate epoch for the stay of the foreign kings in Egypt. But its importance is much enhanced by its very evident relation to a similar statement in Holy Writ with regard to the total duration of the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt. According to this statement, the Hebrews, from the time of the immigration of their ancestor Jacob into Egypt till the Exodus, had remained 430 years in that land.[2] In another passage the same duration of their sojourn appears as the round number of 400 years.[3] Since according to general acceptation

[2] Exodus xii. 40: 'Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years.' Comp. Galat. iii. 17, where Paul compares the '*covenant*' (with Abraham, v. 16) with 'the *law*, which was 430 years after.' It would be out of place here to discuss the view of those who infer from this passage that the 430 years, and therefore presumably the 400 years mentioned in the promise to Abraham (see next note), should be dated from the giving of that promise rather than from the going down of Israel in Egypt. The latter view, in which Dr. Brugsch agrees with most commentators, is at least the *primâ facie* meaning of three out of the four passages in which the date is given, namely, Gen. xv. 13, Exod. xii. 40, and Acts vii. 13.—ED.

[3] Genesis xv. 13, 14, 16: 'And (Jehovah) said unto Abram: Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them 400 years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance. . . . But *in the fourth generation* they shall come hither again' (i.e. to Canaan). Comp. Acts vii. 6, 7: 'And God spake on this wise, that his (Abraham's) seed should sojourn in a strange land, and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil 400 years. And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God; and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place.' The latter part of this passage (for that in the Acts is evidently a quotation of that in Genesis) clearly

the Exodus from Egypt took place after the death of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression, the year 1300 B.C. corresponds approximately to the time of the Exodus in the reign of Mineptah II., the son and successor of Ramses II. If we add to this date 430 years, as expressing the total duration of the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt, we arrive at the year 1730 B.C. as the approximate date for the immigration of Jacob into Egypt, and for the time of the official career of his son Joseph at the court of Pharaoh. In other words, we arrive at the conclusion that the time of Joseph (1730 B.C.) must have fallen in the period of the Hyksos domination, about the reign of the abovementioned foreign prince, Nub (1750 B.C.).

This singular coincidence of numbers, we must plainly confess, appears to us to have a higher value than the dates fixed on the basis of separate calculations, given in the chronological tables of Manetho and the fathers of the Church. For these numbers impose on us no obligation, since they neither change nor rectify the great structure of general chronology.

marks the *Exodus* as the *lower epoch* in the reckoning, as does *the giving of the law* in Gal. iii. 17. At first sight we seem to have *two* synchronous periods named in Genesis—400 *years* and four *generations*; but the great Hebrew scholar Gesenius holds, and the best commentators agree, that the four *generations* of v. 16 are equivalent to the four *centuries* of v. 13 (like the French *siècle*). In no possible way, consistent with the laws of nature, can the 430 (or 400) years, or even the 215 years of the shorter computation, be reconciled with four human generations, or with the pedigree of Moses in the Pentateuch, assuming, *contrary to Jewish usage*, that *all* its steps are stated. On this point especially, as well as on the whole question, see the Note to Exod. xii., in the *Speaker's Commentary*.—ED.

Their importance is altogether different. Independently of every kind of arrangement and combination of numbers, they prove the probability of a fixed determination of time for a very important section of the general history of the world, on the basis of two chronological data, which correspond in a way almost marvellous, and which, independently of each other, derive their origin from trustworthy and venerable sources.

In fact, the supposition that it was under the Hyksos that Joseph was sold into Egypt, and afterwards rose to great honour, as resulting from the chronological relations we have explained, obtains a new foundation of probability in a Christian tradition preserved by Georgius Syncellus. According to this tradition, 'received by the whole world,' Joseph ruled the land in the reign of king Aphophis (the Apopi of the monuments), whose age preceded the commencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty by only a few years.[4]

[4] Syncell. p. 62 A.—It seems of capital importance to give here the passages relating to Joseph in the great *Chronicon* of Eusebius, according to the Armenian Version, and the Greek extracts by the Byzantine chronographer, Georgius Syncellus; premising that their chronology is based on the Rabbinical hypothesis, that the 430 years of the Captivity include the whole period from the promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13) to the Exodus, 215 years only being allotted to the sojourn in Egypt. (This exact *half*, by the way, is a sign of an artificial chronology.) In the following references, the letters A. and Z. indicate respectively the editions of the Armenian Chronicle by Aucher, Venice, 1818, 4to, and by Zohrab and Mai, Milan, 1818. (The former and better edition gives the Armenian text.)

First, in his full discussion of the Hebrew system of chronology, Eusebius says that all interpreters agreed in the period of 505

We have the pleasing satisfaction of adding another very remarkable and luminous confirmation of

years from the *first year of Abraham* to the *Exodus*, and, Abraham being 75 years old at the time of the promise, he gets the above period of 430 years (Pars I. p. 152, A.; p. 72, Z.).

Next, in the section on the Egyptian Dynasties (from Manetho) under Dyn. XVII. of Shepherds, he gives the Kings, Saïtes, Buon, Archles, Apopis (or Aphophis), adding, '*In the time of these*, JOSEPH *appeared to rule over the Egyptians.*' (I. p. 214, A.; p. 100, Z.) This only places Joseph under the Shepherd Kings in general, but Syncellus (*l. c.*), in discussing the statement of Eusebius, says that '*all agree with one voice that* JOSEPH *ruled over Egypt under Aphophis*;' adding that, to suit this *datum*, Eusebius transferred to the Seventeenth Dynasty these kings, whom Julius Africanus (his predecessor in framing the *Chronicle*) had placed in the Fifteenth, and had reduced the 61 years of Aphophis to 14, and the 151 of the whole dynasty to 103.

In another passage also, Eusebius implies that Joseph ruled under the Shepherd Dynasty (Pars I. p. 230, A.; p. 111, Z.).

The new views opened by recent discoveries with regard to the times hitherto considered as mythical, may give some interest to such synchronisms as the following (which may, however, be the mere results of an artificial chronology). Eusebius makes Joseph's rule in Egypt contemporary with *Messapus*, the ninth king of *Sicyon* (Pars I. p. 257, A.; p. 127, Z.), and with *Apis*, the third king of the *Argives*, the second after *Inachus*, from whom the Peloponnesus was called *Apia* (Pars I. p. 263, A.; p. 130, Z.).

In the *Tables*, which form the Second Part of the *Chronicle*, his leading dates are by the years of Abraham, and he reckons 2,015 years from the birth of Abraham to the birth of Christ. Under An. Ab. 282 (B.C. 1734), in the 91st year of the Seventeenth Dynasty (of Shepherds, i.e. twelve years before their expulsion), he notes 'JOSEPH, *ruler of Egypt for eighty years, in the thirtieth year of his age*' (Pars II. p. 87, A.; p. 274, Z.). Here is a remarkable synchronism with the date calculated by Brugsch from the era of king Nub. Under An. Ab. 290 (B.C. 1726), the 100th of the Shepherds, he says: 'In this year, which was the second of the famine, Jacob entered Egypt with his sons' (*ibid.*). Under An. Ab. 293 (B.C. 1723) he

our remarks on the time of Joseph and the Pharaoh his master. On the basis of an old Egyptian inscription, hitherto unknown, the author of which must have been a contemporary of Joseph and his family, we hope to establish the proof that Joseph and the Hyksos are inseparable from one another.

As an introductory remark, we recal to the recollection of our readers the well-known fact, that in the days of the patriarch in Egypt a seven years' famine occurred, as a consequence of the deficiency of water in the overflowing of the Nile at that time.

The inscription referred to, which appears to us so highly significant, is found in one of those tombs at El-Kab, of which we have before spoken more particularly. Judging from the peculiarity of the language, from the style of the internal pictorial decoration of the rock-chamber, but principally from the name of its former possessor, Baba, the tomb must have been erected in the times immediately before the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although no royal escutcheon ornaments the walls of the tomb, to give us information about the exact time of its construction, yet the following considerations are calculated to instruct us on this point, and to fill up the gap satisfactorily.

places the accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty and its first king Amosis (*ibid.*). From the year 282 he gives a column to the years of Joseph's government, which he seems to regard as lasting till his death in An. Ab. 361 (B.C. 1655), the seventy-ninth of Joseph's rule, where he says: 'The 110th year of Joseph, in which he died. After whose death the Hebrews serve the Egyptians 144 years. But the whole time of the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt is 215 years, reckoned from the descent of Jacob and his sons.'—ED.

The name of the old possessor of the tomb, Baba, is already well known to us. Among the members of the great family of the times of the Thirteenth Dynasty, whose pedigree we have above laid before our readers, and the greater number of whose tombs are situated in the rocky necropolis at El-Kab, Baba appears in the third generation as the surname of a certain Sebek-tut, the father of queen Nubkhas.[5] In the pedigree of the family of the captain Aahmes at El-Kab[6] the name Baba appears again, and this time as the second appellation of our hero's father, Abana, a captain under king Ra-Sekenen (Taa III.) If we are not mistaken, this is the Baba, whose tomb, situated near that of Aahmes at El-Kab, promises us important disclosures. For the whole posterity of Aahmes, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, repose in their progenitor's tomb, and in the pits in the rock, which Pahir, the ancient governor of Eileithyia, prepared for himself and them. We should, however, look in vain for the sepulchral chamber of their ancestor Baba, unless it be that rock-tomb of a Baba, which we have already mentioned, in the neighbourhood of that of Aahmes. The inscription, which is found in the sacrificial hall of this tomb, on the back wall opposite the entrance-door, contains the following description, in a style of childlike simplicity, of his existence on earth, blessed by his great wealth in children.

'The chief at the table of the sovereign, Baba, the risen again, speaks thus: I loved my father; I honoured my mother; my

[5] See pp. 217, 218; and Genealogical Table I. [6] See p. 281.

brothers and my sisters loved me. I went out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand; splendid were my preparations of what I collected for the festal day. Mild was (my) heart, free from violent anger. The gods bestowed upon me abundant prosperity on earth. The city wished me health and a life full of enjoyment. I punished the evildoers. The children who stood before me in the town during the days which I fulfilled were—great and small—60;[7] just as many beds were provided for them, just as many chairs (?), just as many tables (?). They all consumed 120 ephahs of durra, the milk of 3 cows, 52 goats, and 9 she-asses, a hin of balsam, and 2 jars of oil.

'My words may seem a jest to a gainsayer. But I call the god Month to witness that what I say is true. I had all this prepared in my house; in addition I put cream in the store-chamber and beer in the cellar in a more than sufficient number of hin-measures.

'*I collected corn, as a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing.* AND WHEN A FAMINE AROSE, **LASTING MANY YEARS**, I DISTRIBUTED CORN TO THE CITY EACH YEAR OF FAMINE.'[8]

Not the smallest doubt can be raised as to whether the last words of the inscription relate to an historical fact or not: to something definite, or to something only general. However strongly we may be inclined to recognize a general way of speaking in the narrative of Ameni[9] where 'years of fa-

[7] In my French edition of this work I gave 52 as the corresponding number, being uncertain whether the destroyed sign, behind the group for 50, was ∩, that is, 10, or ||, that is, 2. The number of 120 ephahs of durra appears to me in a truer proportion for determining the missing number, than it would be to the number of 52 goats, for 2×60 gives, in fact, 120 ephahs. Other corrections are founded on a renewed examination of the inscription on the spot during my stay in Upper Egypt in 1875.

[8] Or it may mean 'to every hungry person.' [The word translated *distributed* perhaps rather means *prepared* or *provided*.—ED.]

[9] See above, p. 158.

mine' are spoken of, just as strongly does the context of the present statement compel us to refer this record of '*a famine lasting many years*' to an epoch historically defined. Now since famines succeeding one another on account of a deficiency of water in the overflowing of the Nile are of the very greatest rarity, and history knows and mentions only one example, namely, the seven years' famine under the Pharaoh of Joseph;[1]—since Baba (or, if any one prefers to say, the Babas, for the most part the contemporaries of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties) lived and worked under the native king Ra-Sekenen Taa III. in the ancient city of El-Kab about the same times in which Joseph exercised his office under one of the Hyksos kings;—there remains for a satisfactory conclusion but one fair inference: that the '*many years of famine*' in the days of Baba must exactly correspond to the *seven years of famine* under Joseph's Pharaoh, who was one of the Shepherd Kings. We leave it to the judgment of the reader to form his own

[1] The exception which may be taken to this statement tends rather to confirm than to invalidate the author's argument, by the record of *one* and *only one* parallel case in the 6,000 years (more or less) of Egyptian history. Mr. Stuart Poole says, in his valuable articles on 'Ancient Egypt,' with special reference to Dr. Brugsch's History (in the *Contemporary Review* for 1879, vol. xxxiv. pp. 751-2): '*No other such famine* is recorded in later Egyptian annals *until* that of the Fátimee Khaleefeh, El-Mustanstir billáh, *remarkable as having lasted seven years* (A.D. 1064–1071), like that of Joseph. Great famines in Egypt are extremely rare, because they require a succession of very low inundations. Such failures of the river seldom happen singly, and *a sequence of seven is most extraordinary*.'—ED.

opinion as to the probability of this most obvious agreement between two different records of the same extraordinary occurrence. At all events, in this comparison, no one will be able to accuse us of exaggeration or searching after far-fetched arguments. The simple words of the Biblical account, and the inscription in the tomb of Baba, are too clear and convincing to leave any room for the charge of a possible misunderstanding.

The account in Holy Scripture of the elevation of Joseph under one of the Hyksos kings, of his life at their court, of the reception of his father and brothers in Egypt with all their belongings, is in complete accordance with the presuppositions connected with the persons and also with the place and time.[2] Joseph's Hyksos-Pharaoh reigned in Avaris, or in Zo'an, the later city of Ramses, with his court, in the thorough Egyptian fashion, yet without excluding the Semitic language. His Pharaoh gives orders to proclaim before him, in Semitic language, an *abrek*, that is, 'bow the knee,'[3] a word which is still retained in the hieroglyphic dictionary,[4] and was adopted by the Egyptians to express their feeling of reverence at the sight of an important person or object. He bestows

[2] Mr. Stuart Poole remarks (immediately after the passage just cited) :—'Any one who reads the history of the time of Joseph, side by side with that of the Exodus, must be struck with *the different conditions of Egypt which they portray*. The transition is from *almost patriarchal simplicity* to a *highly organized condition of society*.'—ED.

[3] Gen. xli. 43.

[4] Compare my *Dictionary* under the word 'Bark,' p. 440.

on Joseph the high dignity of a *Zaphnatpa'neakh*, 'governor of the Sethroïte nome.'[5] On the Egyptian origin of the offices of an *Adon* and *Ab*, which Joseph attributes to himself in speaking to his family, I have already made all the remarks that are necessary.[6] The name of his wife, Asnat, is pure Egyptian, and

[5] Pa'anekh, 'the place of life,' was a special designation of the capital of this nome in the sacred language. The whole long word may be analysed into its component parts in the old Egyptian language :—

Za p- u nt p- a 'anekh.
'Governor of the district of the place of life.'

[In the French Edition the hieroglyphs are given as follows :—

Za- pa- v- nt- pa- aa- ankh.

See the fuller explanation and *building up* of the title in the *Discourse on the Exodus* (Vol. II. p. 378). We leave unaltered the slight variations of the syllables.—Ed.]

[6] See above, p. 253; but little has been said there, and most important and valuable remarks are made by Dr. Brugsch in several subsequent passages. Both titles occur in Gen. xlv. 8 : 'It is God who established me as *privy councillor* to Pharaoh' (Heb. *Ab-le-Pharaoh*), 'and as *lord* (*Adon*) over all his house,' and in v. 9, 'God hath made me *lord* (*Adon*) over all Egypt.' The first clause is mistranslated in all versions, from the LXX. downwards, through taking *Ab* for the *Hebrew* word '*father*,' instead of the *Egyptian* title, *Ab-en-pira'o*. (See the *Discourse on the Exodus*.) On the title *Adon*, and especially the exact parallel of the prince Horemhib to Joseph as '*Adon* of all Egypt,' see below, pp. 311–12 and 518. The office of such a supreme *Adon*, or viceroy, as is described in the case of Horemhib, is exactly expressed by the words of Pharaoh to Joseph (Gen. xli. 40) : 'Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled : only in the throne will I be greater than thou ;' and (v. 44) : 'I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.' For other examples of both titles, see the Index.—Ed.

is seldom met with except in the Old and Middle Empire. It is derived from the female name, so common at that time, *Sant*, or *Snat*. The father of his wife, the priest of On-Heliopolis, is a pure Egyptian, whose name *Potipher'a* was read in his native language as *Putiper'a* (or *-pher'a*), 'the gift of the sun.'[7] The chamberlain who bought the boy Joseph from his brothers, and whose wife tempted the virtue of the young servant, was called *Potiphar* or *Putipher*, a name which could not be pronounced in Egyptian otherwise than *Putipar* (or *-phar*), 'the gift of the risen one.'[8] Yet his titles are given in the Semitic language, although the word *Saris* or 'chamberlain' is found written in Egyptian characters.[9]

Upon the mention of Putiphar's wife, we must not omit to call attention to a passage of the Orbiney

[7] Gen. xli. 45.

[8] Gen. xxxvii. 36 and xxxix. 1, foll. [The reader may compare with these explanations the Essay by Canon Cook, 'On Egyptian Words in the Pentateuch,' appended to the Books of Genesis and Exodus in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. pp. 476, foll.—ED.]

[9] Examples of this are first found on the monuments long after Joseph's time, particularly with reference to Persian officials. In the inscription on a rock-tablet of Hammamat, which bears the dates successively of the 6th year of king Cambyses, the 36th of king Darius, and the 12th of king Xerxes, it is expressly mentioned as *ar en Saris en Paras*, that is, 'made by a chamberlain (or eunuch) from Persia.' (See Vol. II. p. 313.) To make out of these very clear and intelligible words that the meaning is 'from a way to it (i.e. Egypt) from Persia,' as has been lately done in an academical essay, must justly cause astonishment. Daniel was placed as a noble youth under the protection of a captain of the *Saris* at the court of the Persian king (Daniel i. 3); and seven *Saris* served before Ahasuerus, the king of the Persians and Medes, to carry out his commands (Esther i. 10).

papyrus, which, while it is calculated to throw a sad light on the wantonness of Egyptian women, is of far more value for the special relation in which it stands to the history of Joseph.[1] Anepu, a married man, sends his younger brother, Bata or Bita, the unmarried hero of the story, from the field to the house to fetch seed corn. What ensued is sufficiently explained by the following literal translation :—

'And he sent his younger brother, saying to him, "Hasten and bring us seed corn from the village." And the young brother found the wife of his elder brother occupied in braiding her hair. And he said to her, "Rise up, give me seed corn, that I may return to the

[1] This papyrus, in the hieratic character, containing the 'Tale of Two Brothers,' purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum from Madame d'Orbiney in 1857, was first made known to the world by the late M. Emile de Rougé, who gave an analysis of its contents, and translated a considerable part of it in the *Revue Archéologique*, tome ix. pp. 385, f., and the text was published, with a notice by Dr. Birch, in 1860. The discussions respecting it formed a turning-point in Egyptian philology, especially by Mr. Goodwin, in the *Cambridge Essays* of 1858, and the reply of Mr. Le Page Renouf to the attacks of Sir G. C. Lewis (in the *Atlantis*, vol. iv., republished under the title of *Sir G. C. Lewis on the Decipherment and Interpretation of Dead Languages*, 1863). It has been translated into German by Dr. Brugsch (*Aus dem Orient*, Berlin, 1864), into French by M. Maspero, and into English by Mr. Le Page Renouf, in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 137, f.; and in the most perfect form, recently, in M. Maspero's second French version. It was composed by a scribe named Anna for Seti II., son of Mineptah II., of the Nineteenth Dynasty, when he was crown prince. Though the latter part goes off into a purely imaginative fairy tale, the first portion has so wonderful a resemblance to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, as to allow of little doubt that the scribe worked up into his tale an incident which would naturally be recorded, together with the whole history of Joseph, in the annals of the Egyptian court.—ED.

field, for thus has my elder brother enjoined me, to return without delay." The woman said to him, "Go in, open the chest, that thou mayest take what thine heart desires, otherwise my locks will fall by the way." And the youth entered into the stable, and took thereout a large vessel, for it was his wish to carry away much seed corn. And he loaded himself with wheat and grains of durra and went out with it. Then she said to him, "How great is the burden on thine arm?" He said to her, "Two measures of durra and three measures of wheat, making together five measures, which rest on my arms." Thus he spake to her. But she spake to the youth and said, "How great is thy strength! Well have I remarked thy vigour every time." And her heart knew him! . . . And she stood up and laid hold of him, and she said to him: "Come let us enjoy an hour's rest. The most beautiful things shall be thy portion, for I will prepare for thee festal garments." Then the youth became like to the panther of the south for rage, on account of the evil word which she had spoken to him, but she was afraid beyond all measure. And he spoke to her and said, "Thou, O woman, hast been to me like a mother, and thy husband like a father, for he is older than I, so that he might have been my parent. *Why this so great sin, that thou hast spoken to me?*[2] Say it not to me another time, then will I not tell it this time, and no word of it shall come out of my mouth about it, to any man whatsoever." And he loaded himself with his burthen, and went out into the field. And he went to his elder brother, and they completed their day's work.

'When it was now evening, the elder brother returned home to his dwelling. And his young brother followed behind his oxen, which he had laden with all the good things of the field, driving them before him to prepare for them their resting-place in the stable in the village. And behold, the wife of his elder brother was afraid because of the word which she had spoken, and she took a jar of fat, and she was like one to whom an evildoer had offered violence. She wished thereby to say to her husband, "Thy young brother has offered me violence." And her husband returned home at evening according to his daily custom and entered into his house, and found his wife lying stretched out and suffering from injury. She gave him no water for his hands according to

[2] Comp. Gen. xxxix. 9: 'How then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?'—ED.

her custom. And the lamp was not lighted, so that the house was in darkness. But she lay there and vomited. And her husband spoke to her thus: "Who has had to do with thee? Lift thyself up!" She said to him, "No one has had to do with me except thy young brother, for when he came to take seed corn for thee, he found me sitting alone and said to me, Come! let us make merry an hour and rest! Let down thy hair! Thus he spake to me, but I did not listen to him (but said) See! am I not thy mother, and is not thy elder brother like a father to thee? Thus I spoke to him, but he did not hearken to my speech, and used force with me, that I might not make a report to thee. Now if thou allowest him to live, I will kill myself." '[3]

We here break off the thread of the story, in which the simple style and treatment corresponds in the most striking manner with the tone of the Bible. The reader of the foregoing words will at once perceive what we wished to point out: that Potiphar's wife and Anepu's wife precisely resemble each other, and Joseph's and Bata's temptations and virtue appear so closely allied, that one is almost inclined to suppose a common origin of the two stories. At all events, the passage we have just quoted from the Egyptian romance of the Two Brothers forms a most precious and important elucidation of the history of Joseph in Egypt.

That Joseph was actually invested with the highest rank at court, next to his king, is evident from the office he filled of an Adon 'over all Egypt.' (Gen. xlv. 9.) According to the monuments, Adon answers

[3] The sequel of the story may be read in Mr. Le Page Renouf's translation. The flight of the young brother from the rage of the elder leads to a series of marvels, one of which resembles the Greek legend of Pandora. At last the younger brother becomes king of Egypt, and the elder his hereditary prince and successor.—ED.

to the Greek Epistates, a president, one set over others. The rank of such a dignitary varied according to his special duties. We find an Adon of the city of Amon (Diospolis), of the seat of justice, of the infantry, of the royal harem, of the treasury, of the work-places of Pharaoh, of the beer-cellars, and so forth. Quite different from all was the office of Joseph as an 'Adon over the whole land,' a title which I have elsewhere met with only once among the inscriptions of ancient Egypt. Before king Horemhib of the Eighteenth Dynasty (the Horus of Manetho) ascended the throne, he was invested (according to the account of a monument preserved at Turin) with several very high offices, which brought him near to the person of the king. At last the Pharaoh was so pleased with his good services, that he named him Ro-hir (that is Epitropos or Procurator) of the whole land. In this capacity, without having any colleague beside him, 'he was called to be the great lord in the king's house,' and 'he gave answer to the king and contented him with the utterances of his mouth.' In such a service Horemhib was 'an *Adon of the whole land* during the course of many years,' and at length rose to the dignity of 'heir to the throne of the whole land,' until finally he placed the royal crown on his head.[4] We perceive from this, that the 'Adon of the whole land' held a position so important that Joseph, in fact, deserved the appellation of a *Moshel* or *Shallith*, that is, a Prince or 'Regent' (as Luther translated the Hebrew word) over the whole land.

[4] See pp. 517–18.

With Joseph we conclude this chapter of the history of the Middle Kingdom. We take leave of those undefined forms which stand out from the mist of antiquity only in the roughest outlines, to bear witness that they once existed on the soil of Egypt.

Seventeen hundred years before the birth of Christ is about the epoch of time which separates the Middle from the New Empire. The Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty come upon the stage of the world's history. The places of shame in the devastated regions of Avaris and Zoan are forgotten and forsaken; with the new race a new age breaks upon us, the time of requital and vengeance on the descendants of the former conquerors of Egypt, even to the fourth and fifth generations. The theatre of these great events is removed to the blood-stained countries of Western Asia, where Megiddo, Kadesh, Karchemish, henceforth form the focus of all warlike movements.

The monuments begin from this point to afford us clear and intelligible history, for they cease not to celebrate in poetry and prose the glory and splendour of their authors. The dark night of degradation and humiliation is past; and the brilliant day of honour and exaltation has dawned for the Egyptians. Let us live in its light, thrown on the world of the monuments, so long as it shines. Its sun also at length sinks to rest; its last red evening glow casts a bloody reflection on a people grey with age and weary of life, on the banks of the Nile, whom foreign nations and foreign rulers mercilessly oppress even to death. The vengeance was accomplished, and Egypt thereafter sank into decay.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

On the Probable Genealogical Succession of the Eleventh, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Theban Dynasties.

In the Second French Edition Dr. Brugsch introduces the mention of king Kames and his consort Aah-hotep by the following remarks, which, though not inserted in his German work, seem too important to be suppressed :—

'In studying the monuments whose origin goes back to the epoch of the first kings of this illustrious dynasty (the Seventeenth), we perceive a fact which it is well to note, in order to form a just idea concerning the royal family from which sprang the founders of the great Egyptian empire of the Amenophs and the Thutmes.

'According to the indications supplied by the family pedigrees in several tombs, and by the texts engraved or painted on certain objects of a sepulchral nature, the ancestor of the royal family in question was worshipped in the person of the old Pharaoh Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty, the 57th king of the great Table of Abydus (see pp. 127 and 130–1). The transmission of the pure blood of Mentuhotep to the king Amosis (Aahmes) of the Eighteenth Dynasty was made by the hereditary princess Aahmes-Nofertari ('the beautiful consort of Aahmes'), who married the said king, and whose issue was regarded as the legitimate race of the Pharaohs of the house of Mentuhotep (see below, pp. 323–4). Besides queen Nofertari, whom the Egyptians still honoured with a commemorative worship at an epoch much later than the Eighteenth Dynasty, another contemporary princess, bearing the name of Aah-hotep, the wife of king Kames, and probably the mother of king Aahmes, enjoyed a very marked veneration on the part of the Egyptians, who regarded her, next to Nofertari, as the ancestress of the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty.'

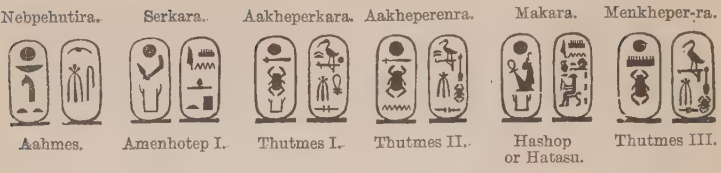
After describing the queen's coffin and its jewels and emblems as in the text (pp. 289–90), Dr. Brugsch proceeds :—

'If we enquire from the vertical inscription (on the coffin-lid) the name of the personage whose relics were contained in the coffin, we see . . . that these remains are those of "*the chief royal consort, who has received the favour of the white crown*, Aah-hotep, the ever-living." Our coffin then contained the mummy of a queen :' and Dr. Brugsch proceeds to show from this title, which

was in especial use under the Eleventh Dynasty, from the prevalence of the name Aah-hotep, both for men and women, in that age, and especially from the close resemblance of the emblems and ornaments of the coffin, both without and within, and of the jewels it contained, to the coffins of the Entefs of the same dynasty, how strong is the *à priori* argument for referring queen Aah-hotep to the time of that Eleventh Dynasty. But, on the other hand, all the objects contained in the coffin bear the names, not of Aah-hotep herself, but of the kings *Ra-uaf Kheper Kames*, and *Ra-neb-pehti Ahmes nakht* (i.e. the 'victorious'), the latter being, beyond all doubt, the well-known founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The inference is irresistible, that the queen Aah-hotep, who was buried in this coffin, was the contemporary of Kames, and closely connected with Aahmes, and that the indications pointing to the Eleventh Dynasty only prove the reversion under the Seventeenth and beginning of the Eighteenth to the art of the Eleventh.

'It remains for us to explain the family ties which connect the queen with the two kings named in her coffin. Of these Amosis (Aahmes) is the later, from which we may conclude that our princess died under his reign. But was Aah-hotep the chief royal consort of *him* or of Kames? Let us observe that Aah-hotep is nowhere called either the mother of the one, or the wife of the other. On the other hand, unless Kames be one of those ephemeral kings, such as the Seventeenth Dynasty was likely to have produced, the predecessor of Amosis is, not Kames, but *Rasekenen*. Light is far from being thrown on the problems raised by these complicated questions. The probability is, that Aah-hotep was the wife of Kames, and that she died under the reign of Amosis, whether the latter was her son (a conjecture apparently authorized by the very filial care evidenced by the truly extraordinary magnificence of her burial), or whether, as a *rex novus* and of an unknown genealogy, he chose to leave to the wife of one of his predecessors the title of *royal consort*.'

The First Part—all that has yet been published—of the Second French Edition (1875) *ends with this Twelfth Chapter.*—ED.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

I. NEB-PEHUTI-R'A A'AHMES (AMOSIS). 1700 B.C.[1]

THE dominion of the foreigners, whose fall and expulsion marked the end of the Dynasty of the Shepherd Kings, had of necessity, in the course of its duration of many centuries, given rise to profound internal divisions, alike in the different princely families and in the Egyptian population itself. Factions became rampant in various districts, and reached their highest point in the hostile feeling of the Upper Egyptian inhabitants of Patoris or the South country (the Patrosim of Holy Scripture and of the Assyrian monuments) against the people of the plains of Lower

[1] On this first introduction of *dates*, the reader should be especially warned against taking them for definite chronological epochs. They represent only an artificial system of *average approximation*, based chiefly on *genealogies* (see the Author's Preface), which is followed consistently even when known to be inapplicable in detail, in order not to disturb the *average*. Thus, one generation of 33 years is assigned to the *very short* reign of Thutmes I. (see p. 343), and the same period to the united reigns of his sons, Thutmes II. and Thutmes III., though the latter *alone* reigned nearly 54 years. The system only claims to give accurate results in a *long period*, and for such its truth is remarkable.—ED.

Egypt, called Patomhit or the North country, who were much mixed with foreign blood. The indolent descendants and branches of the old royal races had made the towns of their residence the centres of petty kingdoms; and just as, in the strong fortress of 'Agani or El-Kab, in Thebes, in Khmun (the Hermopolis of the Greeks), in Khinensu (Heracleopolis), the Upper land kept up its branching dynasties from generation to generation, so the oppressed children of the great ancient monarchs in the Lower Egyptian cities of Memphis, Sekhuu (Xoïs), Zo'an (Tanis), and elsewhere, awaited a brilliant future of sole dominion over the reunited divisions of the empire of Horus and of Set.[2]

From this condition of divided power, and of mutual jealousy and disputes among the weak petty kings, the foreign rulers obtained their advantage and their chief strength, until at length king Aahmes succeeded in raising himself above his fellows. Manning his ships with a sufficient number of brave warriors, he led them down the river from the Upper country of Patoris to Memphis, and from thence he dealt a death-blow to the foreign government in the hated city of Avaris.

Aahmes, whose name signifies 'Child of the Moon,'[3] was certainly not of Theban origin. The moon was regarded as the celestial abode of Thut,

[2] The allusion is to the later native dynasties (XXIV., XXVI., XXVIII., XXIX., XXX.) in the Delta. (See Vol. II. chap. xix.) —ED.

[3] His regal name, *Neb-pehuti-ra*, signifies 'the mighty Lord of Ra.'—ED.

the Egyptian Hermes, who, in his temple upon earth, in the midst of the oft-mentioned and highly revered Ibis-city of Khmun-Hermopolis, on the left bank of the river in Middle Egypt, was invoked by his disciples and adorers as 'the thought and will of the sun-god Ra,' his heavenly father. According to ancient custom and usage, the name of this god, and that of his shining emblem in heaven, was designedly chosen, not only as the family name of king Aahmes and of his mother 'Aahhotep,' 'delight of the moon,' but also of their descendants, named Thut-mes, 'child of Thut,' whose sovereignty ushered in the prosperous times of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

We have already given the short history of the campaign of liberation.[4] Aahmes attacked his enemies by land and sea, conquered the chief seat of their strength, the fortress Avaris, so celebrated in history, and pursued the hosts of the foreigners beyond the boundary of Egypt as far as the Canaanite town of Sheruhan. This place will be mentioned later, in the accounts of the wars of king Thutmes III. against Canaan and Naharain, as an intermediate station on the road from Egypt to the fortress of Gaza. Neither is it passed over in silence in Holy Scripture, for Sheruhan is expressly reckoned among the towns which fell to the tribe of Simeon as their inheritance in the South.[5]

In the tomb-chamber of the second warrior

[4] See the sepulchral record of Aahmes, the captain of the sailors, pp. 284–7.—ED.

[5] Joshua xix. 6. Compare my *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 32.

Aahmes, surnamed Pen-nukheb,[6] the country in which the king fought his Eastern battles, and in which Sheruhan was situated, is designated by its collective name. It is the same Zahi, or Zaha, which has been mentioned before.[7] In the tomb-chamber just mentioned Aahmes relates that his service began in the time of the deceased king Aahmes, was continued under the deceased king Amenhotep I., the deceased king Thutmes I., and the deceased king Thutmes II., and was finished in the time of Thutmes III., who was still alive. He then continues:—

'I have reached a happy old age. I was during my existence in the favour of the king, and was rewarded by his Holiness, and was beloved by the royal court. And a divine woman, the great queen Makara (Hashop), the justified, gave me a further reward, because I brought up her daughter, the great princess Noferura, the justified.'

From the continuation of the much-defaced original text, we can clearly make out the following sentences in the account of the life of the same Aahmes, in which we wish to call special attention to the name of Zahi. Aahmes speaks thus:—

'[I served] king Aahmes. In a hand-to-hand combat I gained ten hands for him in the land of Zahi. I accompanied him to the land of Kush. Living prisoners. . . . [I served] king Amenhotep I., and gained for him three hands in a hand-to-hand combat in the north of Amu Kahak,' and so forth.

From this account of his life it appears with certainty, that the first campaign on foreign soil was against the land of Zahi, that is against the *Phœnician*

[6] See p. 287. [7] See p. 239.

population of the regions on the sea coast, from Egypt as far as the Canaanite settlements. In a word, the people referred to are the Khalu, or Kharu, of whom we have fully said above what appeared necessary.[8] Aahmes contented himself with this success, for, after he had driven the enemy out of Egypt and sufficiently protected the eastern frontier of the Low Country against new invasions by a line of fortresses, he was first of all obliged, owing to the doubtful feelings towards him of the petty kings and their adherents, to restore peace and order in the interior of the kingdom, in order gradually to venture on attempting to reduce under his supremacy the petty kings in their own seats of power, whether they were hostilely or favourably inclined or related to him. They remained as under-kings in their several districts, and as such they bore royal titles and received Pharaonic homage. Thus, on the monuments, by the side of Aahmes there appear, as legitimate princes and 'kings' sons,' the princes Benipu, Uotmes, Ramses, Aahmes, Sipar, and however else they may have been called, with their double names enclosed in a regular royal cartouche. It was only such a treaty, founded on the concession of recognizing their local rights, that enabled the enterprising Aahmes, after the war of extermination against the foreigners, not only to secure himself against insurrection and jealous opposition in the interior of the country, but also to lead out his veteran warriors from Patoris on an expedition against the rebellious negroes on the southern frontier of the country.

[8] Pp. 254, foll.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the empire during the foreign dominion in the North, the widely spread inhabitants of Ta-Khont, or the Nubian districts of the South, had thrown off the ancient yoke of the Pharaohs, and had perhaps even founded independent kingdoms in the hot valleys near the dangerous cataracts of the Nile, which the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty had wrung almost step by step from their dusky neighbours. Aahmes, the chief of the sailors, has already related to us how Aahmes the king came out victorious from this struggle also, in which a king named Tetan offered an obstinate resistance.

Thus not only were the two halves of the empire again reunited under the powerful sceptre of Pharaoh, but the South also was for a time again subjected to Egyptian supremacy. Now at last the time of leisure had arrived, which allowed the king, according to the good old custom, to prove his gratitude to the gods, as their beloved son, by embellishing, rebuilding, or enlarging their temples. During the long dominion of the foreigners 'the temples had fallen into decay since the times of our forefathers,'[9] and the Pharaoh Aahmes, in the twenty-second year of his reign, gave command to reopen the abandoned quarries in the Arabian chain of mountains, to hew out of them limestone for the building of the temples in Memphis, Thebes, and the other principal cities of the kingdom. According to the traditionally prescribed mode of speech, such as had already been used by the scribes in the reign of one of the Amenemhats

[9] Compare p. 295.

of the Twelfth Dynasty, the fact was brought to the knowledge of the then living and future generations by two rock-tablets in the quarries of Tourah and Massaarah, in the neighbourhood of the modern city of the Khalifs, Cairo. The words engraved on them read thus:—

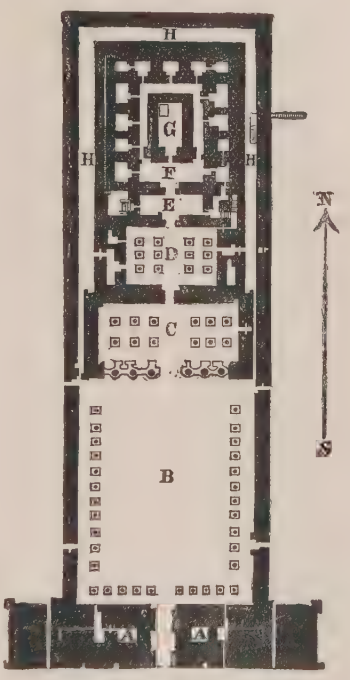
'In the year 22 of the reign of king Aahmes, his Holiness gave the order to open the rock-chambers anew, and to cut out thence the best white stone (limestone) of the hill country, (called) 'An, for the houses of the gods, whose existence is for endless years, for the house of the divine Ptah in Memphis, for Amon, the gracious god in Thebes, . . . and for all other monuments, that his Holiness caused to be executed. The stone was drawn by bullocks, which were brought thither and given over to the foreign people of the Fenekh.'

The fact which the inscription relates, about the drawing of the stone by oxen, is represented beneath it in a picture. Six pairs of oxen are drawing a block of stone by the help of a kind of sledge.

But the building of the Egyptian sanctuaries occupied centuries. The immense imperial temple of the god Amon at Thebes, in the neighbourhood of the modern Arab village of Karnak, was begun in the middle of the third millennium before Christ, but down to the thirteenth century the work had only reached a partial completion. It is proved by the inscriptions, even to the very year and day, that the rebuilding, under the Ptolemies, of the great Temple of the Sun at Edfou,[1] which is the best preserved in all Egypt at

[1] The mention of this temple (though its date is later than belongs to the present work) gives the opportunity of inserting its Plan, as perhaps the most perfect type of an Egyptian temple, complete in all its parts.—ED.

the present day, and stands on the site of the old city of Apollinopolis the Great, occupied the architects, with slight interruption in the progress of the work, for 180 years 3 months and 14 days, from the year 237 B.C. to the year 57 B.C. Aahmes, therefore, could not expect to see the completion of the work he had begun; and, in fact, it was reserved for his late descendants to finish, according to the ancient plan, the buildings commenced by their ancestor.



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFOU.
(Built under the Ptolemies B.C. 237–57.)

A A, the pylon, with staircases leading to the top. B, first hall, with peristyle. C, second hall. D, third hall. E, a small chamber, communicating with staircases, one leading to the roof, the other to numerous small passages and chambers. F, another small chamber. G, the sanctuary, in a corner of which is a magnificent monolith of grey granite, the shrine (*ναός*) of the hawk, which was the emblem of the god Hormakhu.

The name of king Aahmes as a builder has certainly fallen into oblivion on the walls of the Theban temples, but the inscriptions on the rock-tablets of Massaarah have preserved the remembrance of him to the present hour, and with him also the memory of his wife, the great ancestral queen

NOFERT-ARI-AAHMES,

that is, 'the beautiful consort of Aahmes.' Not only in the rock-caves of Tourah and Massaarah, opposite

to Memphis, the capital of the oldest dynasties, but also on a number of public monuments, not less than in the interior of the dark sepulchral chambers of the Theban Necropolis, has the name of this queen been clearly preserved, surrounded by laudatory inscriptions. For, still a long time after her decease, this great ancestress of the new empire was venerated as a divine being, and her image was placed beside those of the eternal inhabitants of the Egyptian heaven. In the united assembly of the deified first kings of the new empire, Nofert-ari-Aahmes, the divine spouse of Aahmes, sits enthroned at the head of all the Pharaonic pairs, and before all the kings' children of her race, as the specially venerated ancestress and founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. As such she is called 'the daughter, sister, wife, and mother of a king,' besides her title of 'wife of the god Amon,' an expression which denoted the chief priestess of the tutelary God of Thebes (but nothing more than that). On several monuments the beautiful consort of Aahmes is represented with a black skin, and the conclusion has hence been drawn that she had to boast, or to be ashamed, of her descent from a negro stock. In spite of the ingenious surmises which have been put forward, on the part of scholars, to infer high political relations from the colour of her skin, namely, that this marriage was the seal of a treaty concluded by the Pharaoh Aahmes with the neighbouring negro tribes for a common effort to drive out the Shepherd Kings, it seems to me that, in this supposition, two special points have been entirely left out of sight. First, the dark colour was not

seldom employed in the paintings of the kings' tombs at Thebes, in order, by the contrast with the usual brightly coloured pictures of the Pharaohs, to suggest a clearly visible allusion to their abode in the dark night of the grave. This intention of the painter would appear all the more probable in the case of our raven-coloured queen, as she does not on every occasion appear black, but sometimes with a yellow skin, like all Egyptian women, on several walls of the tombs at Thebes. In the second place, the negroes, with their Egyptian queen of their own race, would have earned a poor return of gratitude from the house of Egypt, if Aahmes, after the victory over his enemies in the North, had immediately turned his arms against the brethren and the people of his own wife, by whose help alone he had been able to obtain the victory over his hereditary enemy. Let it therefore be granted, as for the honour of king Aahmes we should wish the fact to be, that Nofertari, belonging to the Egyptian stock, bore the character of an heiress on whom, by birth and by law, the right of succession to the Theban throne had devolved. As the husband of such an heiress, Aahmes only occupied the second place by her side; and it was reserved to the son of both, according to the laws of Egyptian hereditary succession, to bear the sceptre as the legitimate full king over both the great divisions of the empire.

The name of that son was—

II. SER-KA-RA AMENHOTEP I. (AMENOPHIS).[2] 1666 B.C.

According to all appearances, Amenhotep, 'the Amon-like,'[3] was, at the death of his brave father, a child under age, so that his mother, Nofertari, was obliged to assume the guardianship, in his place, both in the palace and in the empire. When he grew up to youth, the young Pharaoh turned his attention again to the South, where his deceased father had striven to restore the ancient boundaries anew to the advantage of the Egyptian empire. His campaign against the land of Kush, in which the brave warrior Aahmes, the son of Abana, took part in the capacity of captain of the royal ships,[4] had for its object to advance beyond the country which his father had reconquered, 'in order to extend the boundaries of Egypt.' His object was fully attained; and besides this a rich booty in captive negroes and cattle was brought back to Egypt.

A second campaign, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the inscription in the tomb of the other Aahmes with the surname of Pen-Nukheb,[5] was directed to the North, where the Libyan people of the Amu-Kahak had shown themselves hostile to the Egyptians. Their descendants once more appear, 500 years later, on the tablets of victory of Egyptian history under the abbreviated name of Kahak.[6] This

[2] Also called by many writers Amunoph.—ED.

[3] Or the 'Delight of Amen (Amon).' His regal name signifies 'wielding power by grace of Ra.'—ED.

[4] See p. 284. [5] See pp. 287, 319.

[6] Under Ramses III. See Vol. II. pp. 146, 149.—ED.

people belonged to the great tribe of the 'light-coloured' Thuhen, or, as Greeks designated them by a word of the same meaning, the Marmarides, whose country was known in the times of the Greeks and Romans under the name of Marmarica. At that time they inhabited the northern coast of the African continent, westward of the Egyptian lowlands. The Greek geographers seem to have been well acquainted with the ancient name of Amu-Kahak; at least Ptolemy mentions the Jobakchoi[7] as a petty tribe in the interior, whose possessions lay in the region of the Desert-island of the Oasis of Jupiter Amon, near the Anagombroi and Ruaditæ. In this mention of the Amu-Kahak we have to observe the first traces of that enmity of the Libyans, which under Mineptah II. assumed an aspect so threatening for the Egyptians, whereas before that time they seldom gave the Pharaohs an opportunity of extending their campaigns towards the West. For the rest, the Na-Pa-Thuhen or Na-Pa-Thuhi, 'those from the land of Thuhi' (an expression which is supported by the inscriptions, and was the origin of the formation of the name of Naphtuhim in Holy Scripture),[8] considered themselves as cousins by race to the Egyptians. In Saïs, the mysterious city of Nit, the mother of the gods, armed with bow and arrows, the Egyp-

[7] The change of the Egyptian *m* into the Greek *β* is one of the most common occurrences in the transcription of foreign names. The Egyptians, in the time of Ptolemy, in all probability, pronounced the name something like Jomakhak, Jobakhak.

[8] Gen. x. 13; 1 Chron. i. 11. See Mr. Stuart Poole's article NAPHTUHIM in Dr. W. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.—ED.

tian Athena, they shared with the inhabitants of the land the worship of this goddess, with the characters of whose name they were wont to tattoo their bodies. We shall have the opportunity hereafter, in speaking of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, to prove the influence which the Marmarides were destined to exercise on the fate of Egypt.

Towards the East Amenhotep I. remained inactive. Like his predecessors he contented himself with protecting the frontiers. In the interior of the country the inscriptions bear witness to his care for the erection of the great imperial temple at Thebes, and of sanctuaries for individual gods in the western part of the great Theban plain. After his death divine honours were accorded him, as to his predecessors.

He had by his consort Aahhotep a son, who was his heir and successor on the throne, and as such bore the names—

III. AA-KHEPER-KA-RA THUTMES I. (THOTMOSIS). 1633 B.C.

His name Thutmes,[9] written by the Greeks Thotmosis, means 'Thut's child.' I have already called attention to the significance of the derivation of the name.[1] The victories and wars of this king, who for

[9] The form more commonly adopted is *Thothmes*, which Dr. Brugsch has himself used in two or three passages. Some Egyptologers read the name as *Thoth-* (or *Thot-*, or *Thut-*) *meses*, and also that of Aahmes as *Ameses*, forms much nearer to *Thotmosis* and *Amosis*, and the *Amasis* of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. His regal name signifies 'the great glorious bull of Ra.'—ED.

[1] That is, in connection with worship of the Moon. See p. 317.—ED.

the first time undertook a campaign in the East as far as the banks of the Euphrates, form the principal events of his history, in so far as the contemporary and later monuments have transmitted them to us.

The inscription already made known to us from the tomb of Aahmes, the captain of the ships, first mentions a campaign of king Thutmes I. against the country of Khont-Hon-nofer, or 'the Hither Hon-nofer.'[2] I may be allowed on this occasion to add a few words of explanation.

The lands to the south of Egypt—whose inhabitants, a various mixture of dark-coloured tribes, were at first denoted only by general terms—are described each by a special name, according to their position, and probably also varying at different times. The regions bordering on Egypt, from the First Cataract to the south of Mount Barkal, bore the general appellation of *Ta-Khont*, or 'the land of Khont,' the capital of which (with a very celebrated temple of Amon) was Napata, situated at 'the holy mountain' (*Dou ouab*) Barkal.[3] The name of *Khont-Hon-nofer*, as appears to us, comprehended, on the other hand, all

[2] Compare p. 286. *Hon* means 'slave' or 'servant;' hence *Hon-nofer*, 'good' or 'beautiful slave (or servant).' Mr. Villiers Stuart, who translates *Khont-Hon-nofer* 'the fountain-head of the good servant,' remarks that to the present day the best servants in Egypt are Nubians (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 199).—ED.

[3] It will be convenient at once to describe the site of this famous mountain and city, which became, in the 11th century B.C., the capital of the great Ethiopian kingdom, which for some time ruled over Egypt. (See Vol. II. Chap. xviii.) The course of the Nile, which is generally from S. to N., is varied, between the parallels of 18° and 20° N. lat. (roughly speaking), by two

the countries of the African continent, and therefore included the countries and peoples situated to the west of the Nile as far as the Libyan north coast; while the expression *Kush* was confined to those regions which we at the present day call the Soudan. On a tract of such an enormous extent there lived an almost countless number of tribes, whose original stock was that of a pure ancient African people, whom we meet with in those countries at the present day, the black or brown negro races called *Nahasi* on the monuments. Among these, towards the sea, lighter-coloured tribes of Semitic or Kushite origin had thrust themselves, and in the long ages of history had settled in the valleys of the mountain districts between the Nile and the Red Sea, the so-called *An of Ta-Khont*, whom a later monument of the time of the Ptolemies calls by the name, which appears in this instance only, of *Senti* (*Sati*?). According to the situation of these countries, and the habitations of these tribes, we have in our work substituted for the Egyptian appellations of *Ta-Khont* and *Kush* the better known names of 'Nubia' and 'Ethiopia;' and in like manner we have translated *Nahasi* by 'Negro,' and *An* by 'Kushites.' For all these nations the Nile afforded the one great waterway, upon which the hosts of the

great curves, forming a sort of letter S *laid on its side*. About half-way between the northern and southern points of curvature, on the right bank of the river, rises *Mount Barkal* (or *Berkel*, or *Birkel*), at the foot of which stood the city of *Napata*. The site is now fixed beyond all doubt by the tablets of the kings Piankhi and Miamun Nut, recording their expeditions against Egypt. (See Chap. XVIII.)—ED.

Pharaohs were transported in order finally to effect their landing at the harbours, and to follow the enemy into the interior of their domains.

In spite of all the efforts of the inhabitants in those remote parts of the world to bid defiance to the Egyptian kings, and to destroy the monuments of the Pharaohs in order to annihilate the remembrance of their tyrants, there are still traces enough left to give us information about the supremacy of the Egyptian kings in those countries. Among them the name of Thutmes I. is not wanting. The inscriptions on the rocks in the neighbourhood of the cataracts of Kerman,[4] opposite the Nile-island of Tombos, between the 20th and 19th degrees of latitude, have preserved the remembrance of the great deeds of this king. The longest of them, with the date of the 15th day of the month Paophi, of the second year of the reign of this Pharaoh, extols to heaven the warlike activity of the first Thutmes, and relates in long succession the general names of the conquered peoples, who in the South as well as in the North were subjected to his supremacy. The hieroglyphs which are engraved on the stone relate how

'Thutmes I. had taken possession of the throne of Horus, in order to extend the boundaries of the Thebaid;'—how 'In the territory of the quarter of Thebes called Khefti-nib-s, the inhabitants of the desert (Heru-sha), and the Aamu and all foreign nations were obliged to work;'—how 'The northern people of Khebau-nib are bowed down and the Agabot (Libyans) are quelled;'—how 'Peace is now there, because the inhabitants of the southern lands are driven downward and the northern people are driven upward,

[4] The *Third Cataract* in ascending the river.—ED.

and they have all together subjected themselves to the king;'—how 'The inhabitants of the inner regions hastened to Pharaoh to bow down before his throne;'—how 'He smote the king of the An (the Kushites), and of the Negroes;' how 'The An of Nubia were hewn in pieces and scattered all over their lands, and how their stench filled the valleys.'

Then the inscription continues:—

'The lords of the great king's house have made a frontier garrison for his warriors, so that they may not be surprised by the foreign tribes; they have gathered together like the young panther against the bull. He remains still; he is blinded. The king came even to the uttermost limits of his realm; he reached the extreme boundary by his mighty arm. He sought the battle, but found no one who could have offered him resistance. He opened the valleys, which had remained unknown to his forefathers, and which had never beheld the wearers of the double crown. His southern boundary was at the beginning of this land, the northern boundary at that water where the traveller downwards turns for his upward journey.[5] Never had this been the case under any other king.'

The inscription concludes with the words:—

'The land in its complete extent lay at the feet of the king.'

The office of governor of the Southern lands or of Kush, which occurs more and more frequently in later times, and to which at first the real sons of the king (called 'King's sons of Kush)[6] laid claim, is mentioned for the first time under the rule of Thutmes I. On the wall of the temple at Semneh there is represented an official called Nehi, of the time of

[5] Does this refer to the great bend of the river mentioned above (p. 330)?—ED.

[6] Or 'Princes of Kush;' but we prefer the literal translation to the word which has been so much perverted from the proper sense of *Princeps*.—ED.

Thutmes III., who had won his spurs under Aahmes and Thutmes I., and was raised by the latter king to this new dignity.[7]

And in fact, the riches of Nubia and Ethiopia made it at all times desirable for the Pharaohs of Egypt to secure the possession of these countries, and to send governors to carry on the administration and to collect the revenue. In the course of trade, as well as in consequence of the never-ending predatory warfare undertaken against the dark-hued rebellious subjects, richly laden ships floated down the river from the South, freighted with cattle and rare animals, panther-skins, ivory, ebony and other costly woods, balsam, and sweet-smelling resin, gold and precious stones, corn, and, lastly, captive negroes in almost countless numbers, to fill the temples, and to adorn the palaces of Pharaoh.

In the mines of the valleys of the country of Wawa,[8] glowing under a scorching sun, languished the prisoners and negro slaves, who hewed out of deep pits in the rocks the stone sprinkled with gold, crushed it in mills, and with unutterable toil washed out the golden grains. Armed Egyptians and foreign soldiers, under their captains, kept strict watch over them, and enforced the exact completion of the daily

[7] See my *Geographical Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 53, where the sources of information are mentioned.

[8] The great inscription of Thutmes III. at Karnak, translated further on in this chapter, specifies the tribute from the land of Wawa (pp. 378, 380, 384); and in an inscription of the time of Ramses VI. the governor (*Adon*) has left a minute record of the temple-lands in the district. (See Vol. II. pp. 181, foll.)—ED.

task. Where the traveller, in our day, views from the banks of the Nile the dismal scene of temples filled with sand, towns and fortresses, on the bare cheerless sides of the narrow Nubian valley;—where the wretched inhabitants struggle with want and care, and are scarcely able to gain from the scanty soil sufficient provision for themselves and their cattle;—where along the shore the date-palm, solitary or in groves, raises its proud head heavenwards, as the sole representative of the pleasant world of green trees, overtopped only by the dark rocks of the long chain of jagged mountains in the background;—there, almost thirty-four centuries ago, a picture of most stirring life presented itself to the traveller's eye.

In the villages, which sprang up in the neighbourhood of the local temples, there was settled an industrious dusky population, to whom the Egyptian corn stores supplied the food which the soil of their own home denied them. The temple-service, and the neighbourhood of the Egyptian fortresses and frontier garrisons of Pharaoh, gave them profit enough 'to support themselves and their cattle.' The sailor folk, well trained in the district of the dangerous cataracts of the Upper Nile, exercised their calling in the service of the kings, the generals, and the merchants; nor did the reward of their labour fail them. On the feast-days, the pious or pleasure-seeking crowd flocked to the stone-built houses of the gods, or to the grottos of the heavenly deities, and rejoiced in the pomp of the 'Holy Fathers,' who on the feast-days performed the duties of their office with all

dignity, carrying on their shoulders or in their hands the golden barks with their divine inmates, and exhibiting them to the devout inhabitants of the demesne of the temple.

When Pharaoh visited the Nubian country in his richly adorned Nile ship, in whose sails of costly byssus the north wind blew with full power during the day's upward journey, and at evening brought the ships to rest in the harbours, there was no end to the wonder and admiration, the joy and the hurras, for the king and his exalted courtiers bestowed rich and gracious gifts on the inhabitants.[9] For it was well worth while for the kings to leave behind them generous presents, to teach the inhabitants that Pharaoh was the father and benefactor of his subjects. Then those dusky-coloured men might well sing that wonderful song of praise to the king, which a rock-grotto at Silsilis has preserved for us down to the present day, and of which the following lines contain a literal translation :—

'Hail to thee! king of Egypt, | Sun of the foreign people!
Thy name is great | In the land of Kush,
Where thy war-cry resounded through
the dwellings of the men.
Great is thy power, | Thou beneficent ruler.
It puts to shame the peoples.
The Pharaoh !—life, safety, health to him !—
He is a shining Sun.'

After Thutmes I., in the first years of his reign, had undertaken the campaign by water against Nubia

[9] See the description of Piankhi's return from Egypt to Ethiopia at the end of his great inscription (Vol. II. p. 257).—ED.

and Kush, had fixed the boundaries of his empire to the South, and had returned laden with rich booty to his home in Egypt, it seemed to him that the favourable moment had arrived to send forth his experienced troops eastward, to attack in their own homes the ancient hereditary enemies of his country, the hated inhabitants of Western Asia. That great war of vengeance against Asia now began, which for nearly 500 years was carried on by successive Pharaohs with almost uninterrupted good fortune. Before we follow the campaigns of king Thutmes, it seems proper to survey carefully the theatre of the strenuous conflicts that ensued, and to become acquainted with the peoples and cities whose names will often come under our notice from this time forward.

We first start in our imaginary journey from the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, leaving to the north the hated fortress of Avaris, the ancient stronghold of disgraceful memory, and travel on the old royal road along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, the well-known 'road of the Philistines' of Scripture, the road Zahi of the monuments. We meet on our journey the races of the wandering Shasu, whose chief territory was the rocky chain of mountains of Aduma, the Edom of the Scriptures. Here the Bedouins of antiquity lived 'like foxes in their holes,' evilly disposed towards the pilgrims, while the kindred tribes settled at the angle of the sea-coast in their well-fortified towns were generally faithful allies of the Egyptians. Their three chief places, Harincola (the Rhinocolura of the ancients), Anaugas (Ienysus),

and Inu'amu (Jamnia?), formed a sort of Tripolis. After passing the fortress of Sharuhan the road touches the strong place of Gazatu (the Gaza of the ancients). Along the edge of the sea the Phœnician coast lay like a long ribbon—the land of *Khalu* or *Kharu* of Egyptian records, the 'Hinder-land' (*Akharru*) of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions. Askalon, Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, were the principal places on the royal road, from which the sea remained always in sight, till in the valley of Eleutherus, at the northern slope of Lebanon, the ancient road took an easterly direction, to the neighbourhood of the fortress and river of Shabatun (the Rivus Sabbaticus of the ancient geographers), and the environs of the mountain fortress Aranam (the Mariamne of the Greeks and Romans?), where it opened into the wide plain of Kadesh on the Arunata (Orontes), and thence led into the heart of the land of the Amori (Amorites).

Another much-frequented royal road, dangerous from its many narrow passes and thickets, led from Gaza in a northerly direction through the interior along the whole length of the course of the Jurduna (Jordan) from south to north. The long valley of the Leontes and Orontes, between Lebanon and Antilibanus, had to be passed in order to reach from this side the same city of Kadesh in the land of the Amorites.

Thamask (Damascus) and the towns of Cœle-Syria were left to the east, on the right hand, on the other side of Antilibanus. Khaleb (Khalybon), and Qir-Kamosh, 'the town of Kamosh' (the Karchemish of Holy Scripture), formed the last great

halting-places on the road in Syria proper, which was bounded on the east by the broad water-way of the Euphrates, while on the west the chain of Mount Amanus and the spurs of the Taurus range ('the four supports of heaven' in the language of the Egyptian monuments) seemed to set a limit to the further march of a great army.

The whole of the land thus described, which we know from the records of Biblical and classical antiquity under the names of Palestine, Cœle-Syria, and Syria, bore in the inscriptions the appellation of Ruthen-hir, that is, 'Upper Ruthen (or Luthen).' It was divided into a number of small kingdoms, the names of which were commonly connected with a fortified capital, and which were inhabited by races whose exact designations now occupy the enquiries of the learned. The great people of the Khita (the Hethites or Hittites of Scripture) hold a distinguished place among them, while the kingdoms of Qirkamosh, Kadesh, and Megiddo, were looked upon as the most important points for defence and attack, and as general gathering-places for the allied kings. They played in this respect a great and important part at the time when Thutmes I. was preparing his campaign, about the middle of the seventeenth century before our era.

The Egyptian inscriptions of this period frequently mention the name of Naharina or Naharain, to designate a larger country in the neighbourhood of the land of Upper Ruthen. In spite of all opinions to the contrary, thus much must be considered as cer-

tain, that this Egyptian word corresponded to a foreign expression which we cannot hesitate to recognize in the Semitic Naharain, 'land of two rivers.' Scripture mentions an Aram Naharain, 'Aram of the two rivers,' in which Aram, that is, Syria Aramæa, is the principal designation. The interpreters understand by this the great country of Mesopotamia, situated between the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris. I must not omit to mention that, according to the information of a learned traveller among my friends, the Arabs at the present day are accustomed to call the fertile country to the west of Damascus, which is watered by many rivers, by the same name of Naharain. Here in the land of Naharain lay without doubt the countries of Assur and Babel, with the kings and productions of which we shall presently become acquainted from the tablets of victory of the third Thutmes.

Thutmes I. had chosen as the object of his campaign against the East the far-distant land of Naharain. The two contemporaries and namesakes Aahmes, with whom we are already acquainted, agree completely in their accounts of this campaign of vengeance, which the king undertook in order 'to wash his heart,' that is, to satisfy his anger against the inhabitants of the land of Ruthen, at the northernmost end of which Naharain lay, and to wreak vengeance on them for injuries formerly suffered. He won the victory, and numerous prisoners, besides horses and chariots of war, were transported to his Egyptian home as choice booty.

It is not without importance, as furnishing valuable materials for the right understanding of the civilization which then prevailed among the populations of Western Asia, to observe that the Egyptians, in collecting spoil, were specially mindful of such articles as they hitherto knew but slightly or were wholly unacquainted with, or the acquisition of which was extremely difficult. This preference, which finds particular expression in the inscriptions, is explained chiefly by the proved thirst for learning and knowledge felt by the ancient Egyptians (and, I may add, by their descendants at the present day, as I myself can testify after living among them for nearly fifteen years), which made them direct their whole attention to the productions of the soil and of art, and even to the world of animals and of plants, in those foreign regions. However childlike in their simplicity the pictures which they often delighted to portray upon the temple-walls, or however apparently strange the descriptions which they give on their tablets of victory of what they had seen abroad, yet we always discover in them the earnest feeling of a deep love of knowledge, which saw even in foreign things any peculiar excellence and beauty they might possess, recognized their importance and value, and sought to make them their own.

Such were the beginnings of that science and art, which thirty-four centuries before our time comprehended the whole then known world, and exercised its beneficial influence on the development of civilization and the cultivation of artistic taste. A pro-

sperous traffic transported from the banks of the Nile to the shores of the Euphrates the best that the mind of man and the hand of the skilful master could offer to humanity; and all this was transmitted from land to land, as a splendid inheritance for future generations, by the great intercourse of nations which was then beginning, though at first along the path of war.

Trade and art went hand in hand. The descriptions of the chariots of war, which blazed with gold and silver, of the armour and weapons, from the most beautiful coats of mail to richly ornamented lances, of the vessels of gold and silver and bronze, of the household furniture down to tent-poles and footstools and those thousand small objects which appear necessities to civilized men—give us a deep insight into the perfect skill and into the direction of the taste of these early ages of history, and demand our deepest respect and admiration for the performances of the children of earth at that day. Long before the heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey appear on the battlefield in their ornamental armour, the kings and 'Marinas' of the land of Canaan careered in brazen harness on their costly war-chariots over the plains of Sinear and Mesopotamia and the valleys of Palestine, to measure themselves in battle with the warriors of Egypt, and to wrestle for the palm of victory.

In the conduct of war also, their Asiatic neighbours exercised an influence on the Egyptian military administration. The distribution and arrangement of the troops, and the position of the leaders, were carefully

settled, from the common soldier to the highest general. The war-chariot, with its pair of horses, henceforth takes a prominent place in the Egyptian order of battle. The horse is now introduced into the valley of the Nile under his Semitic name of *sus*, and the chariot also finds an entrance there as a means of satisfying the requirements of distinguished personages. In the tomb of the noble Pahir, son of the brave 'warrior' Aahmes, at El-Kab, there appears, among numerous representations of common life, a picture of a pair of horses with a chariot. The driver, designated by the Semitic name of *Kazan*, standing behind the chariot, holds tight the reins of the horses, waiting for his lord 'who loves the clever steeds.' This is an equally remarkable and instructive evidence of the introduction of horses and chariots into the land of the Egyptians, even as far as the southern country of Patoris, in the southernmost part of which the ancient town of El-Kab was situated.[1]

The king returned victorious from his campaign against the land of the two rivers, Naharain. Crowned with glory and laden with booty, he entered the capital of his empire, Thebes. To speak in the language of the inscriptions, 'he had washed his heart.' As a lasting monument in remembrance of his expedition into the land of the rivers, he caused a tablet of victory to be set up, by the side of which his greater son Thutmes III. at a later period erected a second memorial. These tablets are expressly mentioned in the record of the victories of the latter king (see below, p. 379).

[1] See also the inscription of Aahmes Pen-Nukheb, p. 288.—Ed.

After returning to Thebes, Thutmes I. did not delay to show his thankfulness for the help given him by the deities of the land, and first of all to Amon, the god of the city of Thebes, at whose chief temple, on the site of the present Karnak, he continued the works begun by his forefathers, Usurtasen and his later successor, Aahmes.

The temple, which was at that time still small, and surrounded by a wall with rows of chambers built against it, received as a frontispiece in front, on the western side, an addition of massive buildings and rows of columns, and in front of these two granite obelisks, covered with inscriptions, were to serve as speaking witnesses of the might of the king and his piety towards the gods.

It seems that Thutmes I. left this earthly scene after a comparatively short life and reign. With this agrees the fact that the two Aahmes, as also Nahi the governor of the southern country, were able to serve their country faithfully under the first four Pharaohs of this dynasty. Thutmes I. left behind him three children, with whom his wife and sister,[2] the Queen Aahmes, a female 'child of the moon,' had presented him, namely, an heiress daughter and favourite of her father, the bold and able Hashop,[3] and two sons, both of whom bore the name of their father, Thutmes. The elder son was already able to carry on the government alone, while the other was a

[2] This seems to be the first example in Egypt of those marriages between brother and sister which were afterwards so common in the family of the Ptolemies, as well as in the other Eastern Greek kingdoms.—ED.

[3] Her name is very generally read as Hatasu.—ED.

very young child, whose future was entrusted to the care of his elder brother and sister.[4]

IV. AA-KHEPER-EN-RA THUTMES II.[5] 1600 B.C.

After the death of his father, who with his widowed queen enjoyed divine honours from future generations, their eldest son, Thutmes II., ascended the vacant throne, not without exciting the jealousy of his energetic sister and wife, Hashop. For this favourite child of the late king, superior to her brother both in courage and capacity, risked everything to get the royal dignity into her own hands. Whether the means she took to serve her end were legitimate, is now difficult to decide; but the fact is certain that they met with a hostile reception, for after the death of her elder brother she erased his name from the monuments with the greatest diligence, a clear token of the unfriendly feeling that existed between the brother and sister. As an heiress, whom her father had in his lifetime already allowed to take part in the affairs of government, she felt herself strengthened by the influence of her position and her birth, like that by which her mother, herself the daughter of a legitimate king of the old race, had held so distinguished a place.

Thotmosis II. reigned only a short time in con-

[4] The Table on the opposite page will explain the relationship between these kings and their wives, and likewise between those who will be hereafter named.

[5] Mr. Villiers Stuart (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 153) gives an engraving, from his original drawing, of the fine portrait of Thutmes II. in the little Nubian temple of Amada, described at pp. 438–39, which contains interesting memorials of Thutmes III. and IV.—ED.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PHARAOHS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY AND THEIR WIVES.

1700 B.C. — 1. AAHMES = Nofertari*

1666 „ — 2. AMENHOTEP I. = Aah-hotep*

1633 „ — 3. THUTMES I. = Aahmes Meri-amon*

1600 „ — KHNUM AMON HASHOP* = 4. THUTMES II. — 5. THUTMES III. = Hashop Meri-ra*

1566 „ — 6. AMENHOTEP II.

1533 „ — Juaa = Thuaa* — 7. THUTMES IV. = Mutemua*

1500 „ — Thi* . . . = . . . — 8. AMENHOTEP III.

1466 „ — 12. HOREMHIB = Notem-mut* — Noferithi* = 9. AMENHOTEP IV.—KHUNATEN

1433 „ — 10. SA'ANEKHT = Mer-aten — Ankh-nes = Pa-aten (Amon)* = 11. TUT-ANKH-AMON

NOTE.—The names marked by an asterisk are those of women. Queen Hashop is not *numbered* in the series, as she was not regarded by her successors as a legitimate sovereign.

junction with his sister, for an early death carried him off from the circle of the living to the subterranean realm of king Osiris. From the very beginning, therefore, we must be prepared for but few evidences of his administrative activity. In external affairs, however, these assure us of a campaign successfully achieved against the southern peoples, as well as of another against his neighbours on the eastern frontier, in the north of the peninsula of Sinai. The Shasu-Arabs had attempted an attack on the Egyptian lowlands. The Egyptian army, experienced in war, could have had no great difficulty in repulsing from their frontiers these troublesome and restless rather than dangerous neighbours, who at all times lusted after the full granaries of the Pharaohs, and in pursuing them back to their native caves in the mountains of Edom.

A rock-tablet, in the neighbourhood of the town of Assouan, which informs the wayfarer of the relations of this king with the southern country, commences with the date of the 8th of Paophi, in the first year of his reign. Its contents are expressed in the most general terms, without any allusion to the names of the conquered peoples, or to other particulars of the war, such as might have attracted curious readers even of thirty-four centuries later; it is a veritable collection of official modes of speech and common-places.

'To him came the Asiatics and the Kushite An:'—'his frontier to the south is at the summit of the world, and his northern frontier at the farthest end of Asia:'—'No one can withstand him;'—'conquered are the An (Kushites) of Khont-Hon-nofer' (Africa):—

such are for the most part the obscure claptrap phrases, beneath which is hidden the simple fact, that under the second Thutmes the South acknowledged the supremacy of Egypt. Some distinguished court official, who was sent to Nubia 'to travel,' perhaps gave utterance to his 'Southern' feelings of respect for the young king by means of these inscriptions on the rock.

In the interior, the king and his ambitious consort were greatly occupied with the temples of the gods. Before all else they were mindful of the imperial capital, where, on the eastern (Api) and the western bank (Khefti-Nibs)[6] of the Nile the great temples of Amon received the constant attention of the Pharaohs. On the left bank of the stream the twofold names of the royal brother and sister were especially recorded on buildings on the site of the modern Medinet-Abou (called by the special name of 'the mountain of Neb-ankh,' that is 'the coffin mountain,' on account of the tombs which are found there), and on those at the place called Der-el-bahri. At the site last named, in the north-western corner of the Theban valley, the dazzling white limestone rocks of the finest grain, often quite like marble, rise steep and abruptly from the plain. On the left hand, where the hill of Qurna juts into the plain, on the right hand, where the ruined tombs of the time of the Twelfth Dynasty are situated, and also between them on the rocky ground before the Der-el-bahri, the rock is penetrated by thousands of caves and clefts, which lead to the

[6] Compare p. 331.

chambers of the dead. At this gloomy solitary place, which seems as if created for eternal repose, yet in sight of the great temple of Amon, situated on the further side of the river in the midst of smiling green meadows, the queen resolved that a magnificent sepulchre should be hewn in the rock, with a temple to the dead in front of it, in memory of the princes of the royal house, the like of which should not be found again in Egypt. While the steep wall of rock was pierced with grottoes in the shape of vast halls, which served as sacrificial chambers to the yet undiscovered tombs of the families of the race of Thutmes, richly adorned with variegated representations and corresponding inscriptions of pious import, there rose in front a temple gigantically conceived and executed in the form of a long extensive building, approached by broad and truly regal steps, which from stage to stage descended to the plain. A sacred avenue, (called the Dromos), bordered on each side by sphinxes in repose, led finally in an easterly direction to the holy river. This was the splendid erection of queen Hashop, which called to mind the wonderful buildings on the banks of the Euphrates, also in the form of stages, which have been so often described.

In the subterranean chambers which have not yet been discovered in the interior of the steep wall of rock, and perhaps connected with the tombs of the kings which lie behind them in the valley of Biban-el-Molouk, were placed the bodies of Thutmes I. and his wife and sister queen Aahmes. Here reposed near their parents the princess Kheb-nofru-ra, who died

young; by her side king Thutmes II., and his restless, ambitious consort Hashop; and lastly the Pharaoh Thutmes III., who closed the line of the mighty dead. I have named the chief representatives of this race, as inscriptions which have been preserved still place them before our eyes in name and effigy.

Scarcely had the royal brother and husband of Hashop closed his eyes, when the proud queen threw aside her woman's veil, and appeared in all the splendour of Pharaoh, as a born king. For she laid aside her woman's dress, clothed herself in man's attire, and adorned herself with the crown and insignia of royalty. Thus the proud lady sat as sole ruler on the throne, and at her feet her younger brother Thutmes III.—an infant boy, but the true king of the land, to whom the sceptre and crown belonged by right. But Hashop was enrolled in the king's book of the priests, and her name was altered and extended to

MA-KA-RA KHNUM-AMON-HASHOP.[7]

The first vindictive deed of the new woman-king shows her hatred and animosity against her deceased brother and husband, whose memory the Egyptian Semiramis, as we have already related, sought to obliterate in every conceivable manner. She venerated only her beloved father, while she diligently erased the names of her deceased brother from the

[7] Mr. Villiers Stuart gives an engraving of a portrait of Hashop (Hatasu) at Der-el-bahri. The queen is kneeling and sucking the sacred cow Hathor. (*Nile Gleanings*, Plate XXX. p. 291.)—ED.

monuments they had erected together, and replaced them by her own or those of her father.

The buildings which had been planned on a great scale were now continued with eager zeal, and before all others the stage temple of Der-el-bahri, already described, was carried to completion by untiring efforts.

The friend and architect of the queen was an Egyptian of intelligent mind and skilful hand, but without the fame of proud ancestors, as his own monument, preserved to this day in Berlin, testifies. He was named Senmut, the son of Rames and of Ha-nofer. After his death his queen raised to him 'as a mark of gratitude' a stone monument, his likeness in black granite, in a sitting posture, and on the right shoulder was this short but significant inscription: *Nen kem em an apu*, 'his ancestors were not found in writing.' The clever architect is introduced in the inscriptions on this monument as himself speaking, and he wisely abstains from mentioning the woman-king otherwise than as 'he,' for thus the omnipotent will of the queen commanded. Senmut speaks thus:—

'I was a distinguished man, who loved *him*, and who gained for myself the admiration of the *lord* of the country. *He* made me great in the country; *he* named me as the chief steward of *his* house, and as the governor of the whole country. So I became the first of the first, and the master of the works of all masters of the works.'

The inscription ends with the words:—

'I lived under the *lord* of the country, the *king* Ma-ka-ra: may *he* live for ever!'

Whatever may have been the situation and position of our Senmut with regard to the queen, one thing is undeniable, that his works have outlived him, and are a credit to the master. The buildings of Hashop, about which we have already spoken at length, are some of the most tasteful, most complete and brilliant creations that the hands of Egyptian artists ever wrought. They belong to the time of the matchless splendour of Egyptian art, whether we have regard to the manipulation of the stone, or the form and manner of the execution, or the effect of the rich coloured decoration. Even in their ruin, a melancholy heap of works thrown down in confusion and destroyed, these remains exercise a wonderful charm even on the spoilt taste of modern times.

This art-loving queen was not satisfied with the enjoyment and the pleasure of the splendid creations in stone of the Egyptian masters in every kind of art. Her desire for glory, and a certain adventurous turn of mind, caused her glance to wander in the far distance towards the wonderland of the East, the remote shores of the Indian Ocean. A voyage of discovery must be accomplished, such as the world had never yet known, to the land of Punt, the cradle of many marvellous stories told by Egyptian and foreign seafaring men.

The front walls of the Stage Temple of queen Hashop, looking towards the East, were covered with coloured sculptures and inscriptions, of which the representation that has become so famous in science, of the expedition by sea to the balsam-land of Punt, is

conspicuous above all the rest. Although much of this noble work has been destroyed by the ill-will of time and men, fate has graciously ruled to preserve enough of the ruins, to enable us fully to restore a true picture of this remarkable expedition, the Ophir-voyage of the Egyptians, the historical importance of which was first recognized by Professor Dümichen. Guided by the inscriptions and the pictures, we will now endeavour to describe the history of this expedition.[8]

Incited thereto by the oracle of the chief Theban god, Amon, the queen of Egypt determined to undertake a voyage of discovery to the unknown 'balsam table-land' of Punt. The Egyptians were acquainted from hearsay with the wonders of this distant region on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the home of the pine incense so much coveted for the service of the temples, and of many other precious products of the soil.

A great number of seagoing ships were prepared for the long and arduous voyage. They were manned by able seamen and warriors, and a profusion of friendly gifts were not forgotten. A high official accompanied the expedition as royal ambassador, and noble princes and lords in the service of their lady and queen attended the bold leader.

How long the sea voyage lasted, the inscriptions do not state. When the fleet, by the help of Amon,

[8] The pictures are described and the inscriptions translated by Professor Dümichen, under the title of 'Conquest of Arabia Felix,' in *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 11, foll.—Ed.

had reached its destination, a landing was made on the coast of the 'incense terraced-mountain' (in the vicinity of Cape Guardafui, the Aromata Acron or Aromaton Acroterium of the Greek writers). Wonder upon wonder met the astonished eyes of the new comers, before whom an unknown world was unfolded with all its marvels. Men never seen before, the inhabitants of this 'divine land,' showed themselves on the coast, not less astonished, than the Egyptians were on their part, at the spectacle, never witnessed before, of the landing of foreigners. They lived on pile-buildings, in little dome-shaped huts, the entrance to which was effected by a ladder, under the shade of cocoa-nut palms laden with fruit, and splendid incense-trees, on whose boughs strange birds rocked themselves, and at whose feet stately herds of cattle peacefully reposed.

After the first astonishment was past, peaceful assurances were first of all exchanged with the princes of the foreign land, and friendly gifts were given and received. For, as the inscription states word for word,

'The royal ambassador arrived with the warriors who were in his train. Each of the princes of the land of Punt approached, with rich and costly gifts as offerings to the holiness of Hathor, the lady of Punt, of whom the Egyptian queen is the living image.'

The picture annexed shows us the royal ambassador, accompanied by his warriors, as in the act of receiving a number of chains, rings, hatchets, and daggers, the presents of 'the prince of Punt, Parihu,' who, accompanied by his wife Ari . . . , his two sons,

and his young daughter, greets the royal ambassador with uplifted arms. An ass serves to carry his fat wife. The appended words, when translated, run thus:—

'The princes of the land of Punt have arrived, bowing themselves in greeting, to receive these warriors of the queen. They praise and exalt the King of the Gods, Amon-ra.'

As appears clearly from the continuation of the inscription, they express their natural astonishment that it was possible for foreign men to reach such a distant and unknown country, and they do not fail to add the prayer, that the queen, the mighty ruler of Egypt, would grant them peace and freedom.

The royal ambassador, ready to take into account the peaceful desires of the princes of Punt, on his side put forward the condition that the country of Punt should be subjected to the supremacy of the queen of Egypt, as also that some of the products of the country, and particularly incense, should be delivered as a tribute to the royal court.

The ambassador, and the men who accompanied him, had in the meantime pitched their camp on the sea-shore. That this was done with the friendly intention of receiving the princes of Punt, whose favourable answer must have been given, and of entertaining them hospitably as the friends of the Egyptian queen, is shown in the clearest manner by the inscription, which is added to the pictorial representation, and which runs thus:—

'The camp of tents of the royal ambassador and his warriors was pitched in the neighbourhood of the balsam terraced-mountain

of the country of Punt, on the shore of the great sea, to receive the princes of this country. There was offered to them bread, mead, wine, meat, dried fruits, and everything else from the country of Tomera (Egypt), just as the royal court had ordered.'

The chief representative of the princes of Punt, Parihu, who was mentioned above, accompanied by his enormously fat wife, did not keep them waiting, for

'The prince of Punt came, bringing with him the tribute to the shore of the great sea.'

Golden rings, ivory, and a great heap of precious balsams, were laid out before the tents. Inhabitants of Punt bearing loads, and drivers leading laded asses, with herds of cattle behind, showed clearly the willingness of the natives to submit themselves to the Egyptian double crown. The ambassador 'of the queen received the gifts of the prince of Punt.' Thereupon peace and friendship were concluded, and everything was prepared for the return home.

The rich treasures of stones and plants and animals, which Punt had cheerfully offered to the Egyptians, were increased by a singular addition, which presents to us the first and oldest attempt, of which we have any record, to transplant a tree to a foreign soil. Thirty-one incense-trees, well packed in tubs, were dragged to the shore by the natives. Six men toiled under the burthen of each tree. When all the products of the land stood ready for embarkation, the difficult work of packing and loading commenced. The picture shows us in a true and lively manner the labours of the sailors and of the natives. The

inscription beside it explains further the very clear representation on the stone wall:—

'The ships were laden to the outermost with the wonderful products of the land of Punt, and with the different precious woods of the divine land, and with heaps of the resin of myrrh, with fresh myrrh-trees, with ebony (objects of ivory set in pure gold from the land of the Aam, with sweet woods, Kheset-wood, with Abesh incense, holy wood, and paint for the eyes, with dog-headed apes, with long-tailed monkeys and greyhounds, with leopard skins, and with natives of the country, together with their children. Never was the like brought to any king [of Egypt] since the world stands.'

Soon the ships are set in motion. Sails and oars bid to help alternately. The incense-trees stood on deck between chests and sacks: to the great amusement of the voyagers the apes sprang about here and there in full freedom among the sails. The inscription added to the picture informs us that among the people who travelled with them were even princes of the land of Punt. Here are the very words:—

'The warriors of the land of the land betake themselves to the ship, they carry bundle loads, they take the road to Thebes by [offerings of] water. The princes are with them from this country. What they bring is of a kind, the like of which was never brought to any other king.'

The return of the voyagers and their arrival at Thebes must, of course, have been celebrated as a great event. Egypt had in the most peaceable way become possessed of a newly discovered region in the East, and with it she had secured to herself the wealth of the most precious productions of the soil of this Utopia. In a solemn court the queen received the

princes of tribes of that foreign country, who respectfully prostrated themselves before her who had now become their queen, and in the usual court language in their solemn address designated her as 'the Queen of Tomera, and the Sun who shines like the disk of heaven,' not without at the same time addressing her as 'their queen,' and as 'ruler of Punt.'

'They have now become the subjects of her Holiness.'

In a long procession the beasts and the other natural products were brought before the queen, and even the heavy incense-trees were carried before the sovereign.

In consequence of the fortunate result of the Egyptian voyage, which carried the Egyptian name to the coast-lands of Africa and opened new sources of wealth, it was proper and natural to dedicate the precious treasures which had been brought home to the oracle-giving Amon, the first originator of the expedition, and to institute grand festivals in honour of the god. New pictures and inscriptions leave not the slightest doubt upon this point.

The woman-king appeared in the fullest royal attire, honoured by the most distinguished insignia of her dignity, before the great god, to testify the royal gratitude, and to prove the same in very deed, by the dedication and presentation of all the treasures which had been brought home from the distant world of the South. The productions of Punt were heaped up in groups, and the incense-trees were planted in Egyptian soil. Giraffes, panthers, hunting-leopards, bulls, panther-skins, gold, copper, ebony, and other woods fit for

building purposes, called Amu-timber, ivory, paint for the eyes, 'kash' (?), and whole mountains of precious incense-resin, were offered to the god, and the number and measure of them inscribed in the temple-books. This last act is shown in a symbolical manner in the picture, where Thut, the divine temple-scribe, and the Goddess of libraries write down on the roll of a book the pieces weighed out and counted over by Hor.

'The exact and just scales of Thut, which the queen had had prepared for her father, the Theban Amon, in order to weigh out silver, gold, blue stone, green stone, and all other precious stones:'

so run the words above the picture of the scales. On the one scale lie thirty-one rings of precious metal, on the other scale the 'Ten-' (or 'pound-') weights, in the shape of reclining oxen, and the smaller weights in the forms of heads of oxen and bricks. The present occupation of Hor, 'the watcher of the scale,' is designated as

'The weighing out of the gold and silver and copper, and the works of the inhabitants of the South, for the Theban God Amon.'

In the picture below, the spectator sees two large heaps of precious incense-resin. Four men are occupied in determining the amount exactly with a hollow measure. An inscription above it says:—

'Very active measuring of the fresh incense for the Theban god Amon, from the most wonderful of lands, that of Punt, of the most excellent (incense) of the land of god.'

With the transactions above described, according to the contents of a long annexed inscription, there was connected a great feast in honour of Amon. The

queen herself was adorned in the richest manner; a spotted leopard-skin with copper clasps covered her shoulders, and her limbs were perfumed like freshly fallen dew. All the inhabitants gave utterance to their festive humour in song and music and shouts of joy.

The brother of the queen, designated by his court name of that time, as king Men-kheper-ka-ra, had the honour of presenting an offering of the best incense to the holy bark of Amon, which was borne in solemn procession on the shoulders of the officiating priests. A long procession of priests, court officials, warriors and people, approached the temple of the divine protector of Thebes, the holy men with sacrificial offerings, the warriors with peaceful branches in their hands. Meat and drink offerings were prepared, and cries of joy resounded from the lips of the delighted multitude.

Closely connected with these events, which are portrayed in so eloquent a manner both by picture and words on the ruins preserved at Der-el-bahri, is the solemn dedication and presentation of the once splendid stage-temple to the tutelary deities of the temple, Amon and the heavenly Hathor, of whom the royal brother and sister, the then lords of Egypt, were regarded as the representatives on earth.

Numerous ships belonging to the king and his nobles, crowded with the lords of the court and with warriors in full array, and loaded with presents for the queen and king, directed their voyage to Thebes, the 'city of conquerors,' to take part in the festival of the dedication of the temple of Amon-

seru, in which Amon and the heavenly Hathor were henceforth to be enthroned. A shout of joy filled the air when they landed at Thebes. Already from afar off the offerings and presents for the rulers were exhibited to the curious multitude on the bank, who raised a loud cry of 'God save the King!' For a second time, as is literally stated, the new birth of the splendid city of Thebes was to be celebrated. The landing took place. To the beating of drums and the sound of trumpets, the well-appointed warriors, the crews of the royal ships, the hosts of the armed men of Thebes, bearing branches as the sign of peace in their hands, and the young warriors of the whole country, including Ethiopia, marched in order before the astonished multitude, who enjoyed the war-dances of the Libyan Tamahu, or admired the wild forms of the panthers brought home in the train of the warriors. The leaders at the head conducted the procession to the temple, where the usual sacrifices in honour of the divinities were offered up with pious prayers and supplications.

To experience in such undertakings the pride of kingly power to its fullest extent, must have been a source of the highest satisfaction to the vain queen. Without being able to emulate a man by heroic deeds in the turmoil of battle, she sought 'to be a source of wonder to men, and a secret to the gods alone' (as we shall presently see inscriptions declaring), and to perpetuate the glory of her existence and of her name in another way, by peaceful undertakings, the extent and importance of which secured from the first the

proud hopes of her contemporaries. Her young brother, Thutmes, was shut out from all participation in the affairs of the empire, and, as we shall soon see, passed his childhood and youth in seclusion, far from the eyes of his ambitious royal sister, without state or official position, in Buto, in those marshy districts which were considered as unapproachable places of refuge for banished or exiled kings.[9] Did Isis herself keep her son concealed there, in order to withdraw the future king of Egypt from the snares of the archfiend Set-Typhon? And yet he was born to great deeds, which were one day to procure him immortal fame, and raise his name above every name in Egyptian history.

Hashop's reign was neither disturbed nor weakened by external enemies. In the East the Canaanite kings left Egypt unmolested, and rather showed their friendly feeling by sending the tribute imposed upon them. In the South, in the Nubian districts, the governors discharged their duties, and delivered to the court the products of the soil and of the mountains. Already under Thutmes II., an official named Son, whose titles the walls of the temple of Semneh have immortalized, had been sent to the southern districts.

In the meantime the child Thutmes grew to manhood, and, according to the Egyptian law, claimed a share in the throne and empire, which his sister, already faded and advancing in years, could not withhold

[9] See below, p. 426. In the last age of the history of the Pharaohs we find the native king Khabbash holding out against the Persian Xerxes in the Isle of Buto. See Vol. II. pp. 315–16.—ED.

from him; and, yielding to force, she delayed no longer in solemnly placing beside her on the throne, as associate king over the Egyptians, the rightful heir to the crown, and lineal representative of the royal house. With deep rancour in his heart, the third Thutmes assumed the royal dignity, with its full honours and titles, by the side of his imperious and ambitious sister.

His first exercise of kingly power bears the date of the year 15, on the 27th day of the month Pakhons. We shall have occasion to return to this record later. A rock-tablet of the Sinaitic mountain valley of Wady-Magahrah exhibits the two sovereigns, Hashop and Thutmes III., united in presenting their offerings and allegiance to the protecting deities of the district, the Supet of the East and the heavenly Hathor. The inscription begins with the date of the year 16.

In the preceding year of their government (the fifteenth) a work had been begun, which claims our attention for two reasons. On the plinth of one of the very beautiful obelisks of rose granite, with which the queen sought to adorn the great imperial temple at Karnak, so far as it had been completed up to that time, there is an historical statement, the chief contents of which are as follows. The Lady-King—to translate by an approximate phrase the masculine style in which the queen speaks of herself—had cut out the work in question from the wall of rock at the southern boundary of the country, in the granite quarries of the 'red mountain' of the in-

scriptions, in the neighbourhood of Assouan, and had raised it in its place in the inconceivably short space of seven months, namely, from the first day of the month Mekhir of the 15th year of her reign to the last of Mesori of the following 16th year. If such was the case, the commencement of the first year of her reign must have fallen in the time between the two months; consequently, the reckoning of the regnal year does not begin, according to the system hitherto received, from the first day of that year, in which she ascended the throne as King.

This assumption of the real, and not the imaginary day of her accession to the throne, is fully confirmed by a date from the reign of Thutmes III. As we shall see later on, according to the authority of the monuments, Thutmes ascended the throne of Egypt on the 4th day of the month Pakhons.[1]

In agreement with this, the great tablet of victories at Karnak announces that the same king, in the 22nd year of his reign, in the month Pharmuthi (the day of the month is unfortunately destroyed), left the Egyptian frontier to arrive at Gaza a few days later, in the 23rd year, on the day of his coronation, the 4th of Pakhons. Here there can be neither miscopying nor error.

According to the inscription in the tomb of his contemporary, the Adon of the warriors, Amenemhib, of whom we shall give a more detailed account further on,[2] the king died on the last day of the month Phamenoth, in the 54th year of his reign. Thutmes III.

[1] See below, p. 369. [2] See p. 395.

accordingly reigned exactly 53 years, 11 months, and 1 day,[3] that is including the years of his sister's reign, whose sole rule appeared to him unjust and illegal. With this length of his reign the Manethonian records of 12 years for the double reign of the two together, and 26 years for his sole reign, in no way agree; a striking example in proof of the corrupt form in which Manetho's numbers have come down to us. The date on the plinth of the obelisk named above can now be perfectly explained. The 15th year ends with the 3rd of Pakhons; and the 4th day of the same month began the 16th year. Thus they laboured at this work for 3 months and 3 days of the 15th year, and 3 months and 27 days of the 16th year: altogether, therefore, for just 7 full months.

Whether Thutmes III., after reaching manhood, drove his sister by force from the throne, or whether she fell asleep in Osiris, we have not the means of knowing, because the monuments are silent on the point. Let us rather greet with joy the independent monarch over the two great divisions of the empire, who bore in his double cartouche the names of

V. MEN-KHEPER-RA THUTMES III., 1600 B.C.,

the Alexander the Great of Egyptian history.

During so comparatively long a reign as 53 years, 11 months, and 1 day, an energetic king could accom-

[3] As the whole month of Pharmuthi comes between Phamenoth and Pakhons, the year left incomplete would seem to consist of 10 months and 26 days. It is by reckoning the 5 intercalary days as an *addition* to the year that Dr. Brugsch makes 11 m. and 1 day. See the Table of the Egyptian Calendar.—ED.

plish much of importance for his country. That Thutmes III. did so is proved by a whole world of extant monuments dating from the time of his reign, although they are now heaped together in their last ruins. For their wealth of works of every description bearing the name of the greatest king of those times, from the largest temples to the tiny scarabæi, is almost innumerable. A most extensive field of history is opened to us from this epoch. Egypt itself forms the central point of the world's intercourse, which, carried on by means of trade and war, affords us an unexpected insight into the past, and into the life of the nations of the most ancient world. We shall see how the king undertook to measure himself in battle with the mightiest empires of antiquity, and how he carried his arms to the extremest frontiers of the then known earth, whether in Asia towards the East, or in Libya towards the West, or in the South as far as the heart of Africa. We shall become acquainted by name and number, by measure and weight, with an abundance of the productions of foreign countries (partly under their own native appellations), whether those which the earth brought forth or which the artful hand of the clever workman had the skill to fashion for purposes of war or peace. We shall be astonished at the countless riches, which were laid up in the treasuries of the temples. The same inscriptions on the stone walls of the temples, which, then in a better state of preservation, the wise men of Thebes read and explained to the Roman Cæsar Germanicus, on his visit to the old city of Amon, still to this day confirm

what Tacitus has related. 'There were read to him'—says the Roman historian[4]—'the tributes imposed on the nations, the weight of silver and gold, the number of weapons and horses, and the offerings to the temples in ivory and sweet scents, also what supplies of corn and of all utensils each nation paid, which were no less immense than are now imposed by the might of the Parthians or the power of Rome.'

Let us begin with that which secured to Thutmes III., in the eyes of his contemporaries, the reputation of a powerful prince, namely, his wars and his victories over the whole of the then known world. The records of these were carved in hieroglyphs on the inner walls of the galleries and vestibule, which surrounded on the north, west, and south the holy of holies of the temple of Amon at Karnak (or, as the old Egyptians would have said instead of this modern Arabic name, Ape or Apet). Fallen down, destroyed, misplaced, only isolated portions of the long inscriptions have been preserved; but these are still important enough to enable us to put together the principal parts of the grand record of the table of the victories of Thutmes III., and to gain a general idea as to the extent of his campaigns.

During a period of almost twenty years, the great Pharaoh had to carry on more than thirteen campaigns against foreign nations, in the course of which town after town had to be stormed, river after river to be crossed, country after country to be traversed in long days' journeys, under the difficulties of a

[4] Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 60.

foreign climate and a hostile population. Under the rule of the 'woman-king,' Hashop, the tributes imposed on the conquered peoples, which they ought yearly to have presented at the court of Pharaoh, had gradually ceased to be paid; a deaf ear had been turned, or even threats uttered in reply to the Egyptian warnings; and this went so far that at last the kings with their peoples renounced the Egyptian supremacy under the sceptre of a 'woman-king,' and made a stand against the empire in the valley of the Nile. In addition to this, a great revolution took place at the same time in the mighty empire of the Chaldeans on the banks of the Euphrates. The Chaldean dynasty was attacked by the Arabs from the South, and the ruling princes of the land were overthrown and expelled or carried away into captivity. A new era began, the era of the Arab kings in Babylon, who from this time bore rule for many years in the river-land of Mesopotamia. All these events, which a short time before the sole reign of Thutmes III. had made a great revolution in the life of the nations from the Euphrates as far as the Western Sea, could not fail to exercise an influence on Egypt. The tribes of the Upper Ruthen, who lived nearest to the Egyptians, and the Phœnician Khalu of the 'hinder lands,' and their southern neighbours in Zahi, had declared themselves free and independent of the yoke of Egypt, and only the king and people of Gaza had preserved their ancient friendship for the Egyptians.

Ruthen and Zahi formed the main points of attack in the different years of the war. After victories had

been won over them, both countries were obliged to throw themselves at the feet of the Pharaoh Thutmes III., who returned home with his army, to subdue, in the intervals of peace in the East, the revolted peoples to the West and South of Egypt, and to bring them back to their ancient obedience.

As I have already found an opportunity of observing, the king with his army marched out from the Egyptian frontier in the month of Pharmuthi, probably towards its close. The point of departure is clearly stated to have been the fortress on the eastern frontier of Zalu or Zoan-Tanis. The following literal translation of the Egyptian record authentically relates the further course of the campaign:[5]—

FRAGMENT 1.—'(2–5) The king, Men-kheper-ra (Thutmes III.) [may he live for ever], has issued the command that there should be put up [the report of his victories which his father Amon granted him] in the form of a memorial tablet in the temple which the king has erected to his father [the Theban god Amon. Therein is set forth the list of the towns which he has conquered in his] campaign according to their names, with the addition of the booty which was brought away by [the king out of] all [lands], which his father, the sun-god Ra, had delivered to him. (6) In the year 22, in the month Pharmuthi, [on the ? day, the king found himself in] (7) the fortress of Zalu on his first campaign to [extend] (8) the frontiers of Egypt by [his] victories.

'(9) Now the duration of the same was $x + 2$ years . [The foreign kings had sown] (10) discord. Each was in the . . . against

[5] This great inscription at Karnak is translated by Dr. Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 35, foll., under the title of 'Annals of Thothmes III.: Account of the Battle of Megiddo.' We have inserted in the text the numbers of the fragments and lines as given by Dr. Birch.—ED.

. . . (11) The [tribes ?] which lived there (12) in the city of Sheruhan, made the beginning with Irza, (13) and found their termination at the extremest limits of the earth, with the exception of those who had raised themselves up against the king.

'*In the year* 23, *on the 4th day of the month Pakhons, the day of his accession to the throne*,[6]

'(14) he found himself in the town, which the ruler of Gazatu (Gaza) had within . . . . . (15) *On the 5th of Pakhons* he left this place full of power [and strength,] (16) in might and triumph to conquer that miserable enemy, and to extend (17) the boundaries of Egypt, according to the commands of his father Amon [who gives him] what he possesses.

'(18) *In the year* 23, *on the 16th of Pakhons* (he went) to Ihem. [The king] (19) gave the order for a consultation with his warriors on account of the war, speaking thus:

'"That hostile king (20) of Kadeshu has arrived. He has entered into Makitha (Megiddo). He is [there] (21) at this moment. He has assembled with him the kings [of all] the tribes [which dwell] (22) over against the water of Egypt as far as the land of Naharain [the . . . .] (23) the Khalu (Phœnicians), the Kidu (Kittim), the . . . . their horses, their warriors [in great numbers], (24)Thus he speaks: I will withstand [the king of Egypt] (25) at Makitha (Megiddo). Tell me [which is the way to break into this city ?]"

'(26) They spake before the king: "How would it be, to force the way along (27) that road which leads to the narrow passes? for there is [intelligence] (28) that the enemy stand there [in ambush, and impassable is] (29) the road for a numerous body. For lo! a horse cannot go behind [another, nor a man behind] (30) a man in like manner. Will not then [the enemies rise up to] (31) fight there, while [the army] stands still? A broad road goes (32) out from 'Aluna; it offers them no opportunity for attack, and with respect [to the way on] a broad road (33) it is the only way. Take it into consideration. [Let us go by it, we shall] come [out at] (34) Ta-'an-na-ka (Thaanach). Another [way] which you might take into consideration (35) is the road north of Ziftha (Zaphat). We come out upon this to the north of Makitha (Megiddo). (36) Wherever our victorious ruler will go, [we will follow] him

[6] This passage deserves special notice as giving the very day of the accession of Thutmes III.—ED.

on it (the way). (37) Only let him not lead us on the impassable road."

'And lo (38) the spies [arrived, whom the king had sent out] on account of the intentions [of the enemy, and] (39) they spake in the presence of the king.

'Then spake the Holiness of Pharaoh—may he live, and be safe and well!—[thus]: (40) "As truly as the sun-god Ra loves me, I call to witness my father Amon, I the son of the [sun-god Ra] (41) with a pure life, I will enter on the road of 'A- (42) luna. Let him, whoever among you has the wish, enter on [other] (43) roads, which you have named. But let [those] of you come (44) who will follow me. For thus would speak (45) the enemies, who know not Ra: Does not the king advance on one (46) of the other roads? He wishes to retreat for fear of us." Then they assented, (47) speaking thus before the king: "May thy father Amon of Thebes grant (48) to us protection and safety if we follow thee, the king, into all places wherever thou wilt go: (49) for the servant should be behind [his] lord." [Then the king showed himself] (50) in the sight of his assembled warriors [while he spoke to them thus]: (51) "May Amon give guidance into[7] [good ways]!" Each one of the warriors took an (52) oath, speaking thus: "I will not advance (53) before the king in order to [protect him against the enemy. I will leave him, the king,] (54) to go himself before his warriors." [Then the king left his horse and went] (55) on foot, and those who went on foot, their horse was behind [them. Thus the king advanced] (56) at the head of his warriors.

'*In the year* 23, *on the* 19*th of Pakhons*, (57) the king's tent was pitched at the city of 'Aluna. But the king went on (58) forwards. His divine father Amon-Ra [the ruler of Thebes] (59) was before him, and the god Hormakhu [the god of light of Heliopolis] by [his side] . . . . . (60) His father Amon-Ra, the lord of Thebes, victory for [thine] arm . . . . (61) for the king. The battle begins on the side [of the enemy] . . . . . (62) In the tumult of battle, numerous are . . . . . (63) The southern horn (wing) at the town of Ta-'a-[na-ka] (Taanach) . . . . . (64) the northern horn (wing) at the corner south [of the town of Megiddo] (65) the king was in face of them. (66) They fall to the ground, and the hostile king . . . . (67) . . . they . . . .'

[7] The translation is very uncertain.

Then follows, after a gap of three or four lines,[8] the following large fragment:—

FRAGMENT 3.—'(1) 'Aa-lu-na. The rear-guard of the brave warriors of the king [remained] at [the town of] (2) 'Aluna. The advanced guard came out into the valley. (3) They filled all the ground of this valley. Then they spake thus to the king: (4) "Would the king advance, accompanied by his warriors to the battle? the valley is full of them: (5) we will obey our war-chief in the [fight]; (6) we will protect our lord and the rear-guard of his warriors together with his people. (7) We have (left) the rear of the warriors behind, [that] they may fight against (8) the country . . . of the 'Aam, that we may not act according to our will . . . . . (9) our warriors." And the king took up a position outside them (10) there, to protect the rear of his warriors in the battle. Then they reached the . . . . (11) and the warriors came out on this road. (12) The sun had rolled downwards, when the king reached the south of Megiddo on the bank of the brook Qinaa (Kanaah). There had (further) passed by six hours of the day.[9] Then was the camp pitched, and the king showed himself in the sight of all his warriors (speaking thus): "Keep yourselves ready, look to your arms, for we shall meet this miserable enemy in battle early to-morrow morning, because . . . ." (13) assembled at the tent of Pharaoh; it was composed of the baggage of the guides, and the utensils (?) of the servants. When the watch had been set, which the soldiers kept, they spoke thus: "Firm courage, firm courage! Watch! watch! Watch over his life at the king's tent!"

'Tidings were brought to the king: "Meru (Egypt) is of good courage, and the noble races and the warrior people of the South and the North land alike."

'*In the year* 23, *on the* 21*st of Pakhons*,[1] *on the feast of the new moon, which is the anniversary of the coronation of the King*,

[8] Of this I was able in the year 1851 clearly to read the following words:—

'. . . . the king's children, so as . . . . . it was done, just as he wished, in the (town of 'Aluna), &c.'

[9] This obscure passage seems to mean that the sun had passed the meridian when the king arrived before Megiddo, and then six hours elapsed, till about sunset.—ED.

[1] Dr. Birch gives the 22nd Mesori.—ED.

in the early morning all the warriors were ordered that they should open . . . .

'(14) The king went forth on his chariot of copper; he was equipped with all the necessary panoply; he was like Hor the smiter, the lord of might, and like Menthu, the lord of Thebes. His father Amon made his hands strong. The horn (wing) of the warriors of the king at the southern mountain [was stationed at the brook] of Qina, the northern horn to the north-west of Megiddo, the king in their midst, Amon at his side . . . (15) his limbs. Then the king prevailed over them before his warriors. They (the enemy) wondered at the king, how he became their lord. Then they fled head over heels to Megiddo, with terror on their face, and left behind their horses and their gold and silver chariots, and were drawn up by their clothes as by ropes into that town, for the people had barricaded the town itself on account of [the deeds of the king].

'(16) While they were being drawn up by their clothes from without into this town, oh that the warriors of the king had not yielded to their desire to plunder the goods of the enemy! . . . . Megiddo at the same hour. For the miserable king of Kadesh had gone up together with the miserable king of that town (Megiddo), so that they escaped and went into their town. Then was the king enraged . . . . . (17) and his crown gained power over them . . . . . Then their horses, their gold and silver chariots, which had been made in the land of the Asebi (Cyprus), were made spoil. They (the enemy) lay kicking in heaps like fishes on the ground. The brave troops of the king counted up their goods. See! they have captured the tent [of the miserable king], in which his son [was]. (18) Then the warriors all at once raised a shout of joy and gave honour to Amon [the lord of Thebes] who had given to his son [the victory]. And the . . . . of the king avouched his power. And they exhibited the spoil, which they had taken, in hands, and in living prisoners, in mares, in chariots, in gold and silver, and [all other things]. Then spake the king: "Thank Amon for the protection which he has afforded [me his beloved son], the (19) sun-god Ra on this day. Concerning all the kings of that people, who have shown themselves as enemies in their inward thoughts, and concerning the fact that the might of Megiddo is the might of a thousand towns, you must make yourselves masters of it" . . . . . (20) the leaders of the bodyguard

[to return] each to his place. And they left that [town and remained] at the rampart which was encompassed with fresh green trees of all kinds of wood in the country. And it was a delight to the king to be within it, as in a fortress, on the east of that town.

'(21) [The king gave the order] to finish building the place and to surround it with thick walls and with thick [battlements], and the king gave it the name of "Men-kheper-ra, who has taken possession of the plain of the Asiatics;" and guards were set before the dwelling of the king, and the word was given to them, "Firm courage, firm courage! Watch, watch! watch over the life in the king's tent." The king [commanded the hostile inhabitants, that none of them should show himself] (22) outside, behind this wall; except at the exit in an opposite direction, at the gate of their fortress. All this did the king to this miserable king and to his miserable warriors. It (the record) was set up by day in his name, and in the name . . . . (23) and it was set up on a roll of leather in the temple of Amon on the same day. Then the kings of that land came [together with] their [children?] to worship before the king, and to implore breath for their nostrils, because of the strength of his arm and because of the greatness of his spirit. (24) [And the children of the kings came] before Pharaoh, and presented their gifts of silver, gold, blue stone and green stone, and they brought also wheat and wine in skins, and fruits for the warriors of the king, for every one of the Kitti had taken care to have such provisions for his return home. Then the king graciously pardoned the foreign princes because of . . . .

'*List of the spoil:*

'(25) 3401 living prisoners, 83 hands, 2041 mares, 191 foals, 6 bulls; 1 chariot, plated with gold, the box of gold, belonging to the hostile king, [31] chariots, plated with gold of the king of . . ., (26) 892 chariots of his miserable warriors; total (chariots) 924.

'1 beautiful iron suit of armour of a hostile king,

'1 beautiful iron suit of armour of the king of Megiddo,

'200 suits of armour of his miserable warriors, 602 bows, 7 poles plated with gold from the tent of the hostile king.

'Besides these Pharaoh's warriors had taken as spoil: (27) . . . . [bulls], ... cows, 2000 kids, 20,500 white goats.

'*List of that* which the king afterwards carried away of property out of the dwelling of the hostile king, which [was in the towns of] Inu'am, Annau-gas, and Herinokol, together with the [nobles] of these towns who surrendered [to Pharaoh] at discretion:

. . . . . (28) 39 noble persons, 87 children of that king and of the kings allied with him, 5 Marina who had joined themselves to him, noble men, 1596 men and maid servants, together with their children, 103 persons, who gave themselves up, whom famine had taken out of the hand of that king; total (of captives) 2503.

'Besides precious stones, golden dishes, and many various utensils, (29) a great flagon with a double handle,[2] a work of the Khal (Phœnicians), ... dishes . . . . vessels of various kinds for drinking, great water-gutters, 97 swords, 1784 lbs. of gold rings, which were found in the hands of the artists, 966 lbs. . . . oz. of silver rings in great numbers, 1 statue made of . . .[3] (30) the head of gold, staves with heads on them, of ivory, ebony, cedar wood, inlaid with gold, 6 chairs belonging to the hostile king, and the footstools pertaining to them, of ivory and cedar wood, 6 large tables of cedar wood, inlaid with gold and precious stones, 1 staff of the king, made in the fashion of a sceptre, entirely of solid gold, 1 plough, inlaid with gold, 1 statue (31) of the hostile king, the head of it in gold . . . . iron vessels, many garments of the enemy.

'The fields also were divided into parts and measured off by the surveyors of the royal house, and their harvest was gathered in. Account of the harvest which the king took away from the fields of the town of Megiddo:—280,000 [+ *x*] measures of corn, (32) besides what was destroyed in gathering it in by the soldiers of the king.

'[TAXES] OF THE LAND OF RUTHEN IN THE YEAR 32:[4]—

'*Tribute of the King of Assur:*

20 lbs. 9 oz., the weight of a block of pure bluestone.

[30 lbs. —], the weight of two blocks of pure bluestone.

50 lbs. 9 oz., the total weight of the three blocks.

Bluestone of Babel: of Hertet-stone many utensils of Assur.

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[2] Here, as at Troy, we have the δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον among an Asiatic people, and it is of Phœnician workmanship, like the silver bowl given by Achilles as a prize at the funeral games of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii. 743), and the silver vessel presented by Menelaus to Telemachus (*Od.* iv. 615–619).—ED.

[3] For this gap Dr. Birch has 'silver.'—ED.

[4] Dr. Birch reads the 40th year. The 'bluestone' (*Blaustein*) appears to be lapis lazuli.—ED.

'(33) *Tribute of the Kings of Ruthen in this year.*

'A king's daughter adorned with . . . . . gold, bluestone of this land, 30 . . . . 65 men-servants and maid-servants of his tribute.

4 chariots plated with plates of gold, the boxes gilt.

6 chariots of copper, the boxes of agate.

10 chariots in all.

45 bullocks and calves, 600 [+ *x*] bulls . . . . . .

'(34) The quantity of wheat could not be measured.

'104 lbs. 5 oz. weight of silver in pieces of broken vessels, a golden helmet inlaid with bluestone, an iron suit of armour decorated with gold. (35) 833 jars of balsam, 1718 jars of wine and honey, much spelt, much . . . . , ivory, cedar-wood, Meru-wood, Pesga-wood, Zagu-wood, and all other kinds of the best fire-wood, and many other precious productions of this land, (36) which were brought into the king's tent at all the places which he visited.

'In the year 34,[5] catalogue of the tributes which the king carried away from the land of Ruthen:—

'*The Tribute of the King of Assur:*

'(37) Armlets of Masq and of m'akhu-leather, a mysterious . . . . . , chariots with wooden heads on them.

'180 (+ *x*) aqaratu.

. . . . . .

'(38) 343 (chariots) with a wooden yoke, 51 trunks of cedar-trees, 190 of Meru-trees, 205 kanakat of Nib-wood.'

Here is the place for a second larger fragment (now in the Egyptian collection at Paris), the contents of which are not less instructive than the words of the foregoing table of victory. The general superscription on it begins with the following words:[6]—

[5] Here, again, Dr. Birch reads the 42nd year.—Ed.

[6] This inscription, also from Karnak, is translated by Dr. Birch, under the title of 'The Statistical Tablet' of Thothmes III., in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 17, foll. There is a preface of titles, &c., omitted by Dr. Brugsch.—Ed.

'The king has given orders to set forth the victories which his divine father [Amon of Thebes] has granted to him on this stone wall in the temple, which the king had newly built.

'(1) *In the year* 29 *the king was in the town of* (*Tunep*) *to destroy its inhabitants, who had taken part against him, on his* 5*th campaign.*

'At that time the king conquered the town of Wa . . . . t . . . .

'His warriors praised the king, and they offered a prayer of thanksgiving (2) [to Amon of Thebes for] the victories [which he had granted] to his son. That seemed to the king more pleasant than all else. After this the king betook himself into the store-house of the offerings, and a due sacrifice was offered [to the God Amon] and to the God Hormakhu, of oxen, calves, birds [and all other offerings in the name of the king] Men-kheper-ra. May he live for ever!

'*Catalogue of the spoil which was carried away out of that town* :—(3) Of noble persons of the people of the land of Tunep:

'The king of this town, 329 Marina (lords).

'100 lbs. of silver, 100 lbs. of gold, bluestone, greenstone, vessels of iron and bronze.

'They took a ship which had a freight of all things, of men-servants and maid-servants, brass, lead, white gold (electrum?) (4) and all other useful things.

'While the king was returning to Egypt, [then was] his heart full of joy, for he spoiled the town of Aruthut of its corn, and destroyed all their best plantations.

'*Then the king* [*went through*] *the whole land of Zahi.*

'Their trees were full of fruit, and (5) their wine was found stored in their cellars as well as in skins. Their corn lay on the floor to be threshed. There was more of it than the sand on the sea-shore. The soldiers took possession of all their property.

'*List of the spoil which the king carried off in this campaign* :—51 men-servants and maid-servants, 40 mares, 10 silver dishes, (6) 470 jars of balsam, oil, and honey, 6428 jars of wine; bronze, lead, bluestone, greenstone; 3636 goats; many sorts of good cakes, spelt, corn, meal, ... other choice fruits of that land.

'Then the soldiers caroused, and anointed themselves with oil, (7) as they used to do on feast-days in the land of Egypt.

'*In the year* 30, *the king was in the land of Ruthen on his* 6*th campaign;* and he came to the town of Kadesh, and destroyed it, and cut down all its trees, and the corn was carried away.

'Thence the king went to the town of . . . A . . . tu, and came to the town of Zamar (Semyra), and came to the town of Aruthut (Aradus) and treated it in the same way.

'*Account of the spoil* (8) *which was brought before the king by the kings of the land of Ruthen in this year* :—

'Then were brought before him the children of the kings and their brothers, to remain as hostages in Egypt, so that if one of these kings should die, then the Pharaoh could take his son, and put him in his stead.[7]

'4 children of kings carried away in this year, 181 men-servants and maid-servants, 188 mares, 9 chariots (9) plated with gold and silver, 40 chariots, painted.

'*In the year* 31, *on the 3rd Pakhons, were brought together the king's captives of the same year, who had been carried away out of the city of An-an-ruth, which is situated on the shore of the lake of Nes-ro-an : in the same year were brought together*

490 living prisoners,

. . . attendants (?) of the young son of the hostile king,

. . . people, who were placed over the house of the women, who were therein.

494 people in all.

26 mares, 13 chariots, (10) which were provided with all the necessary equipments.

'When the king had conquered that city in a short time, whatever came to hand was taken as spoil.

'*The tributes of the kings of Ruthen, who came to prostrate themselves before the king in this year* :— . . . men-servants and maid-servants, . . . of this land.

'761 lbs. 2 oz. of silver, 19 chariots plated with silver, (11) provided with all the necessary equipments : 104 bulls with bullocks, 172 calves with the cows ; total (of cattle) 276.

'4622 goats, 40 bricks of rough bronze (or ore), . . . lead, [suits of armour ornamented] with gold, 41 leather collars, covered with brass scales, and all their other valuable productions, (12) together with the best kinds of woods of the same country.

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[7] A very interesting passage, confirming the statement of Herodotus (iii. 15) respecting Amyrtæus, that the Egyptians were accustomed to set the sons of subject kings (and even of rebels) on the throne of their father. (See Vol. II. p. 333.)—ED.

'And each halting-place to which the king came was provided with the necessary provision of bread of various kinds, of oil, balsam, wine, honey, and . . . . . of which there was more than anything else, more than the warriors of the king themselves knew. This is no fable. (13) They were set forth on a table in the king's house, in order not to add to their number on this tablet, that the words might not be too many, but that their description might be given at the place [where] they make . . . A contribution was imposed on the land of Ruthen of many sorts of grain, (14) of wheat, corn, spelt, balsam, fresh oil, wine, fruits, and all excellent things of the land. These were given over to the treasury to have an examination made of the great quantity of the things given in . . . . . ; 33 different kinds of . . . . besides alabaster and other kinds of precious stones of this land, together with many stones for (15) the fire-flux (?) in the . . . . and all other good productions of that land.

'*The king had returned to Egypt. Then arrived the ambassadors of Ganabat, bringing with them their tributes* :—5 . . . incense and Kama ; 10 negroes for servants ; (16) 113 oxen and calves, 230 bulls; 343 in all : besides what the ships were laden with ; elephants' teeth, ebony, panther-skins, and all other precious productions of the same land.

'Further [the tribute of the land of Wawa-t] : 5 . . . out of the land of Wawa-t : 31 oxen and calves, 60 bulls ; total 97 ; (17) besides what the ships were laden with, of sundry productions of the same land. Of such sort were the tributes of the land of Wawa-t.

'*In the year* 33 *the king was in the land of Ruthen :*

'And he came [to the water in the river-land of Naharain, in order to set up there two memorial tablets, the one] on the east side of that same water, the other by the side of the memorial stone of his father (18) Aa-kheper-ka-ra [8] (Thutmes I.) Then the king went further up (the river) to conquer the towns, and to level to the ground the strong places of the king of the miserable land of Naharain on [his 7th campaign]. . . . . and the king] pursued them for the distance of a mile, and not a single one looked (19) behind him, for they were bent on flight, and sprang like the kids of the mountains. Then the horses (of the king) flew . . . . . .

'[*List of the spoil which*] *all the warriors of the king* [*carried*

[8] See above, p. 342.

off]:—30 kings and (20) their wives, 80 men conquered in battle, 606 men-servants and maid-servants, and their children: . . . . people who had surrendered at discretion and their wives. . . . . carrying away their crops.

'The king came to the city of (21) Ni[9] on his return home. After he had arrived there, he set up his memorial tablet in the land of Naharain, to show that the boundaries of Egypt had been extended . . . . . .

'*List of the booty which was brought before Pharaoh by the kings of that same land:—*

'(22) 521 men-servants and maid-servants, 260 mares, 45 lbs. $\frac{1}{9}$ oz. of gold, . . . vessels of silver and gold, wrought in Zahi, . . . chariots with all their appurtenances; 28 oxen, calves, and bullocks, (23) 564 bulls, 5323 goats; 926 jars of balsam, . . . sweet oil, besides [fresh oil]; and all other delightful [productions] of the same land, and a multitude of different kinds of fruits. (24) The halting-places were provided with every kind of provision as their tax for each year required. To this is added the tribute of the inhabitants of the land of Limanon, according to their yearly tax, together with [the tribute] of the kings of Limanon: . . . . . 2 unknown [species of birds], 2 geese. (25) These pleased the king more than all the rest.

'*The tributes of the kings of Sangar:*

'4 lbs. of real bluestone, 24 lbs. of artificial bluestone, . . . bluestone of Babel, a . . . of real bluestone, a ram's head of real bluestone, (26) 15 lbs. in weight; besides all sorts of vessels.

'*The tributes of the great land of Khita in this year:—*

'301 lbs. in 8 rings of silver, a great piece of white precious stone, Zagu wood; . . . . .

'[Then Pharaoh returned] to Egypt after he had gone up (27) to the river-land of Naharain in order to extend the boundaries of Egypt.

'*These are the precious things which were brought to the king from the land of Punt in the same year:—*

'1685 measures of dried incense, . . . lbs. of gold, ... 155 lbs. 2 oz. . . . .; 134 men-servants and maid-servants; 3 oxen, (28) 116 calves, [300] bulls; 419 (head of cattle) together:

[9] Concerning this city of Ni, which several scholars take for Nineveh, see below, p. 400.—ED.

besides the freight the ships had brought of all other good things of the same country.

'*List of the tributes of the land of Wawa-t* :— . . . . . .[1] 12 men [negroes], 20 together: 44 oxen and calves, (29) 60 bulls; 104 (head of cattle) together: besides what the ships had been laden with of all other good things of this land. The calculated tribute was of such an amount.

'*In the year* 34 *the king was in the land of Zahi* [*on his* 10*th* (sic!) *campaign*].

'*List* (30) *of the towns which were taken in this year* :—

'2 towns, 1 town which had made peace in the territory of Anaugas; 3 in all.

'90 male prisoners who were carried away by the king [out of the territory of . . . .] and who had resisted; three men who had given themselves up; . . women (31) and children of the same.

'40 mares; 15 chariots, plated with silver and gold, 50 lbs. 8 oz. of golden vessels and gold rings, 153 lbs. of golden vessels of this land, and rings, ... bronze.

'326 calves, 40 white goats, 50 kids, 70 asses; a quantity of wood of the Zagu-tree, (32) black-tree, and cedar-tree.

'6 chairs [with their footstools], 6 pillars for a tent, made of iron, with precious stones on them, all kinds of good wood of this land.

'*Tribute of the kings of Ruthen in the same year* :—

. . . . . mares, 34 chariots plated with silver and gold, and painted; 704 men-servants and maid-servants; 55 lbs. 8 oz. of gold, ... silver vessels, (33) works of the land of [Zahi?]; . . . . . Mennu-stone and all kinds of precious stones, ... vessels; 80 bricks of rough bronze (or ore), 11 bricks of lead, 100 lbs. of colours, incense, greenstone, alabaster . . . . . 12 oxen and calves, 530 bulls, 84 asses, . . . iron, much wood of various kinds, many vessels of bronze, 690 jars (34) of balsam, 2080 jars of sweet oil besides fresh oil, 608 jars of wine, 3 chariots of Zagu wood, 3 kenket[2] of cedar-wood, all other kinds of wood of the same land.

'All the halting-places of the king were provided with all good things which the king had to receive [from the inhabitants] of the

[1] For this gap Dr. Birch has 'male and female slaves . . . . 8.' —ED.

[2] Dr. Birch translates this 'buckets,' the Coptic *knikigi*.—ED.

land of Zahi. The Keftu (Phœnician) ships and the Kapuni (Gebal) ships were laden with logs of timber and masts . . . . together with (35) long poles of wood for [the dwellings?] of the king.

'*Tribute of the king of Asebi* (*Cyprus*) *in the same year* :—

'108 bricks of refined brass, 2040 lbs. in weight, 5 bricks of lead, 1200 nun in weight, 110 lbs. of bluestone, 1 elephant's tusk.

'[*Tribute imposed on the miserable land of Kush*] :—

'2 cubit-rods, the work of the miserable land of Kush, 600 + *x* lbs. of gold; (3) . . . . . , 60 negroes, 1 son of the king of the Blemyes, (36) 64 people altogether. . . . . oxen, 170 bulls, 275 (cattle) in all.

'Besides what the ships were laden with, of ivory, ebony, and all other precious productions of this country. Of such sort was the tribute imposed on the land of Kush.[3]

'*In the year* 35 *the king was in the land of Zahi on his* 10*th campaign.*

'Then he came to the town of A-ri-a-na. This miserable king of the river-land, Naharain, had collected the horses, together with the warriors and servants [of all kings and countries] (38) from the extreme ends of the land. They were more [than the sand on the seashore, only they] avoided the battle with the king. Then [the warriors] of Pharaoh encountered them. Then the warriors of the king struck a decisive blow in their hasty attack on account of the opportunity to plunder whatever each could carry away with him. Then the king made himself master . . . . of the river-land (39) of Naharain. [They turned round] and fell down head over heels, one over another, before the king.

'*List of the spoil*, which the king himself had taken from the hostile inhabitants of the river-land of Naharain :—

'(40) . . . lbs. weight, two suits of armour of iron.

'*List of the spoil*, which the warriors of the king carried off from the [hostile inhabitants of this country] :—

'10 living prisoners, 180 mares, 60 chariots, (41) . . . . ornamented leathern collars, ... iron suits of armour, 5 iron helmets, 5 bows from Khal (Phœnicia).

[3] Dr. Birch's version has here : '*The tribute of Wawat:* 254 lbs. of gold, 10 male and female slaves captured, . . . bull-calves, total . . . , besides boats laden with (37) all the good things of that country.'—ED.

'*The spoil which was taken in Ket* . . . (42) 226 . . . . . , 1 chariot, plated with gold, 20 + *x* chariots, plated with silver and gold.'[4]

On two other fragments, belonging to the same tablet of victory, mention is made of a thirteenth and fourteenth campaign of the king, as any one may convince himself from what has been preserved, even according to the following translation:[5]—

'(2) . . . . . earrings, bracelets, marble, paint for the eyes, ... cattle of the country, ... firewood, a production of the miserable land of Kush, 70 lbs. 1 oz. of gold, ... men-servants and maid-servants, ... oxen and calves.

'Besides what the ships were laden with, (3) of ebony, ivory, and all other good things of this land.

'*To this is added the tribute of the land of Wawa-t*:—

'34 negroes, men-servants and maid-servants, 94 oxen, calves, and bulls.

'Besides what the ships were laden with, of all the other good things of the land. Of such amount was the tribute of the land of Wawa-t.

'*In the year* 38 *the king went* (4) *on his* 13*th campaign.*

'The king destroyed the territory of the town of Anau-gas.

'*List of the spoil*, which the army of the king carried away from the territory of the town of Anau-gas:—

'50 living prisoners, . . . mares, . . . chariots . . . . provided with all the necessary (5) appurtenances.

'The peaceful people of Anau-gas.

'*List of the spoil*, which was brought to the king in this year:—

'328 mares; 522 men-servants and maid-servants; 9 chariots, covered with silver and gold, 61 painted chariots; 70 (chariots) together.

'1 necklace of bluestone, 1 jug with two handles, and dishes with (6) goats' heads on them, one with a lion's head, produc-

[4] Dr. Birch's version adds: '(43) . . . . gums, amphoras or, (44) . . . . the tribute of the . . . .—ED.

[5] In Dr. Birch's version, this is *Fragment* 5 of the 'Annals,' &c.; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 48, foll. It begins with '(1) . . . . gold . . . (2) shekels,' &c.—ED.

tions of the land of Zahi [with a total weight of] 2821 lbs. 3 oz. [of gold], 276 bricks of raw copper ore, 47 bricks of lead, 656 jars of balsam, 3 jars with sweet and with fresh oil, 1752 jars of liquid butter, 156 jars of wine, 12 oxen, ... 46 asses, ... (7) 5 elephants' tusks, 3 tables of ivory and cedar wood, 68 lbs. of Mennu-stone, ... spears, shields, and bows, all sorts of precious woods and other choice woods of this land, and all other good productions of this land.

'Each halting-place was well provided with all good things according to the impost of its yearly service to [deliver] on the outward journey (of the king) the productions of the land of Limanon in such sort.

'(8) *Tribute of the land of Zahi*:—

'. . . . in corn, balsam . . . .

'*Tribute of the king of Asebi (Cyprus)*:—

'. . . . raw copper ore, ... mares.

'*Tribute of the king of Arirech in this year*:—

'Men-servants and maid-servants, 2 bricks of raw copper ore, 56 cedar-trees, all other choice woods of his land.

'*Tribute which was brought to the king out of the land of Punt*:—

'(9) 240 jars of dry incense, a production of the miserable land of Kush, 100 lbs. weight, a golden spear; . . . . 36 negroes, men-servants and maid-servants; 111 oxen and calves, 185 bulls, 296 (cattle) in all. Besides what the ships were laden with, of ivory, ebony, and all other precious productions of that country.

'In addition, together with the tribute of this country, *the productions of Wawa-t*: (10) 2844. [. . . .] 16 negroes, men-servants and maid-servants; 77 oxen and calves; besides what the ships were laden with, of all the precious productions of that land.

'*In the year* 39 *the king was in the land of Ruthen on his* 14*th campaign.*

'His march was directed against the land of the hostile Shasu.

'*List* [*of the spoil* which the soldiers carried off from thence]:

'197 men-servants and maid-servants; (11) 229 mares; 2 golden dishes, 12 lbs. of golden rings, 30 lbs. . . . . [gold], 1 silver dish, 1 silver double-handled cup, with the head of a bull, 325 silver pieces of all kinds of vessels, 1 silver ring; (making) 1495 lbs. 1 oz. in weight. . . . . chariots, (12) white precious stone, Menkh-stones, natron, Mennu-stones, and all other precious stones [of this land] . . . . . 364 jars of balsam, sweet oil, fresh oil, liquid butter, and honey,

1405 jars of wine, 94 bulls, 1183 kids, ... iron, . . (13) . . . of that land; and all other precious productions of that land.

'Every halting-place was well provided with all good things according to the assessment of its yearly tribute.

'On his return [the king came to the town . . . . .]—tha [in the land . . . . . .]

'*In like manner the tribute of the land of Zahi in wheat, balsam, oil* . . . . . '

Another not less important fragment mentions several countries which, during the new campaigns of the king, had to bring to Egypt the taxes imposed upon them according to the proportion of those previously mentioned. Here is the translation of what has been preserved: [6]—

'(1) [*The tributes of the land*] *of Asebi* (*Cyprus*) :—

'2 elephants' tusks, 40 bricks of brass, 1 brick of lead.

'*The tributes* (2) *of* [*the land of Kush*] *in the same year* :—

'144 lbs. 3 oz. of gold, 101 negroes, men-servants, and maid-servants, ... oxen and calves, ...

'*The tributes of the land of Wawa-t in this year* :— . . . .

'(3) [35 oxen] and calves, 54 bulls; 89 in all, besides what was laden on [the ships of all the good things of this land. Of such sort was the tribute of the land of Wawa-t.]

'(4) *List of the spoil of the kings of Ruthen which the king carried away out of the land* :—

'(5) 40 + *x* bricks . . . . ., 3 battle-axes of flint,[7] . . . . . iron spears . . . . . of this land. (6) 26 elephants' tusks, 242 cedar-trees, 184 oxen, ... goats. (7) . . . . balsam.

'*Likewise the tribute of the king of the great land of Kheta in this year* :—(8) 46 + *x* lbs. 2 oz. of gold, [18] negroes, men-servants and maid-servants, 3 [negroes] useful for servants; 21 in all. . . . . oxen and calves.

[6] *Fragment* 6 of Dr. Birch's translation in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 51, foll.—ED.

[7] These 'battle-axes of *flint*' would be singularly interesting, if the translation were quite certain, especially in connection with the other objects enumerated. But Dr. Birch has *steel*.—ED.

(9) '*In the year . . . then was the king in the land of Ruthen on his . . . . campaign.*

'(10) . . . . . of Amon. The king went on the sea-road to destroy the town of Ar-qa-tu (Arca), together with the towns of the country . . . . . (11) -ka-na. This town was destroyed and the territory belonging to it. Arrival in the town of Tunep. Destruction of the town; annihilation of the crops; also their trees felled. . . . . (12) . . . . . the captains of the army carried them away. The arrival was fortunate. Arrival on the territory of the town of Kadeshu. Conquest of the towns therein.

'(13) *List of the prisoners who were carried away out of it* :— . . . . . from the river-land of the miserable Naharain, who belonged to the Maunef among them, together with their horses: 690 heads, 29 hands, 48 mares.

'(14) [*List of the tributes which were carried away out of the land . . . . .*] *in this year* :—

'295 men-servants and maid-servants, 68 horses, golden dishes and double-handled jugs, (15) a ladle with silver . . . . . 47 bricks of lead, 1010 lbs. in weight, colours, white gold, all good precious stones of this land, iron suits of armour and weapons, ... (16) [and all kinds of] choice productions of that land.

'Then was every halting-place furnished with the necessary provision of all good things according to its yearly impost.

'The taxation imposed on this land was of such an amount.

'[*Tribute of the king of . . . . . in this year*] :—

'(17) . . . . . with dishes, with bulls' heads on them, in weight 341 lbs. 2 oz.; 33 oz., one piece of real bluestone, a beautiful cubit-staff of zagu-wood, ... raw copper ore.

'(18) [*Tribute of the king of the land . . . . .*] *nthanai* :—

'1 brass caldron, the work of Kefthu, also utensils of iron-stone; 56 lbs. 1 oz. weight, a hand of silver. . . . . .

(19) [' *Taxation of the miserable land of Kush in this year*] :—

. . . . . .

'Besides [what the ships were laden with] of all the good things of this land. The taxation of the miserable Kusha was of such an amount.

'*Service of the land of Wawa-t in this year* :—

'2374 lbs. 1 oz. of gold. . . . . .

'[The service of the] land of Wawa-t [was of such an amount].

'(20) Then the king gave orders to set up the record of the victories which he had gained from the year 23 to the year 32, which coincides with the erection of the memorial tablet on this temple wall.

'Thus has he done. May he live for ever!'

The rich tributes and taxes which king Thutmes III. received in what are called the 'halting-places' on his campaigns, and those which the foreigners, and especially the Ethiopians, brought to Egypt in person, were given over to the Theban officials, that they might estimate them accurately according to number and weight, and enter them in the great account-books of the administration of Pharaoh. The tributes of the tribes of the South, of the land of Punt, of the lands of Ruthen and Kefa, occupied the first place in the registers.[8] The metals were weighed in scales, on which solid images of animals in stone or brass, in the shape of reclining oxen, took the place of our weights. If Lepsius's explanation of the Usem-metal as electrum be right,[9] according to a representation in a tomb mentioned below, not less than 36,692 lbs. of it were carried into the treasuries at Thebes under Thutmes III.; that is, a mass of 67 cwts., which, considering the rarity of this precious metal, seems hardly probable. This Usem seems much more likely to have been a mixture of metals, resembling our brass, in which copper formed the principal ingredient: [like *orichalcum*.—ED.]

[8] See *Denkmäler*, iii. 39 d., the inscriptions of a tomb in the hill of Abd-el-Qurnah.

[9] The many vessels of electrum found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy prove its abundant use in the very ancient Eastern world, and no wonder, as it was found native. As to the ancient knowledge of *brass*, see note, Vol. II. p. 261.—ED.

The tributes of the countries situated directly on the Nile in Upper and Lower Nubia were delivered to the Egyptian governor of the Southern country. In the time of Thutmes III. the 'king's son' Nahi occupied this post, and, according to the inscriptions in the rock-grotto of Ellesieh, he received gold, ivory, and ebony for the king. Nahi himself says :—

'I am a distinguished servant of my lord; I fill his house with gold and make joyful the countenance of the king by the products of the lands of the South. The recompense for this is a reward from the lord for Nahi the king's son and the governor of the South.'

After his brilliant campaigns on Canaanitish soil, the return of the king to Egypt must have been one grand triumphal procession. The sight of the captive princes, their children, and their subjects, in the train of the young hero,—the numberless troops of horses, oxen, goats, and rarer animals,—the immense booty consisting of the productions of the foreign soil and the splendour of the artistic works in gold and silver, in precious stones and costly woods, which were brought home,—in a word all the riches of the then known world, as far as the distant abodes of the Ethiopians,—could not fail to make a deep impression on the easily excited Egyptians, and must have inclined the hearts of all to the young sovereign of the land.

The first thing was to offer homage and thanksgiving to the gods for the victories he had won. The Theban Amon was first thought of, and his temple-treasury in Ape of the South was filled with princely munificence. In all quarters of the great city of Thebes new buildings were added to those already existing,

and before them were erected great gate-towers (propyla) with double wings, and obelisks 100 cubits high, surmounted with glittering copper tops. The broad surfaces of the walls of the widely extended buildings now served to receive the records of victory, and the catalogue of the foreign nations which had been conquered.

Before his return to Thebes, the king, towards the end of his first glorious campaign (in his 23rd year), had taken care to found in the northern portion of the land of Ruthen, in the so-called Limenen or Rimenen (the country of Lebanon), a fortress of unusual strength, which bore the name Men-kheper-ra U'af-shema (that is, 'Thutmes III. who has bound the land of the foreigners').[1] It was situated near the Phœnician cities of Arathu (Aradus) and Zamira (Simyra) at the foot of Lebanon. From hence he returned to Egypt.

An inscription still fairly preserved, near the one before mentioned, gives a full record of the expression of the king's grateful feelings towards the god Amon.[2] Directly after his return to Thebes he instituted three 'feasts of victory,' each of five days' duration, in remembrance of his campaigns, in which naturally the god of the empire, Amon, had the lion's share of the presents and sacrifices connected with them. The first was to be celebrated on the first feast of Amon, the second on the second, and the third on the fifth feast of Amon, so that they coincided with the days

[1] See above, p. 373.

[2] Compare Plates 43 and 44 of my *Recueil*, vol. i., and the annexed explanations, p. 52, &c.

of the feasts of Amon, of which, according to the calendar of feasts under Thutmes III., there were eleven. The calendar just named comprehended in all more than forty feast-days, the list of which is given in an inscription, unfortunately half destroyed in the most important places. The following is the translation of what has been preserved:—

Eve (called Khet) of the feast of Amon . . .	1 day
Amon's feast-days, which take place every year . .	11 days
The 4th Pakhons, feast of the accession of Thutmes III.	1 day
Feast of Neheb-kau on the 1st of Tybi	1 day
Feast of the new moon (the 1st) and of the 6th day of each month	24 days

The king dedicated to the god rich presents and sacrificial offerings for all times on the three 'feasts of victory,' likewise on the great festival 'of the [14th of Paophi],[3] when the Holiness of this glorious god came in procession, to celebrate the feast of his voyage in the city of Ape in the southern land of Patoris,' to 'thank him for the victories over the land of Upper Ruthen.' By order of the king the three cities of Anaugas (Jenysus), Inu'amu (Jamnia?), and Harinocola (Rhinocolura), were assigned to the domain of this god, to pay yearly to his temple the taxes laid upon them.

The edifice erected by Thutmes III. to the honour of the god as a memorial of victory, called the Khu

[3] According to the inscriptions on one of the fragments at the Temple of Elephantiné, which Thutmes III. erected in honour of the god Khnum, the customary feasts of Amon were held there also. The fragment which has been preserved tells us of 'a feast of Amon on the new year's day of the 1st of Thut, which lasted

Mennu, 'splendid building' of the Hall of Pillars,[4] which still stands at Karnak, was richly endowed with precious gifts out of the booty brought home. Four obelisks of immense height were erected to the gods, and statues were dedicated to his royal ancestors, and special feasts were instituted to the divinities Hormakhu and Khim (Pan).

This first campaign of the king against Upper Ruthen, of which the monuments make frequent mention, was the most important of all his wars. The temple walls were chiefly devoted to its commemoration, and were covered to superfluity with the names and pictures of the conquered nations and towns. The lower storey of one of the propyla built by Thutmes III. to the south of the special sanctuary of the god at Karnak (laid bare from the sand only a few years ago), has preserved to us, almost complete, the catalogue of those names, which are of inestimable importance for a knowledge of ancient geography and ethnology. We subjoin a correct list of these names, so far as they relate to the parts adjacent to Egypt on the East.

3 + (2?) days, as also of a feast of Amon 'of the Southern Thebes,' which began on the 15th of Paophi, and was kept up 11 (+ x?) days. Under the reign of Ramses III. the same feast began on the 19th Paophi and lasted 24 days, while the eve (Khet) of the feast took place on the 18th of Paophi.

[4] We use the phrase 'Hall of Pillars,' the better to distinguish this edifice from the still more famous 'Hall of Columns,' or 'Great Hall,' of king Seti I., especially as the pillars in the hall of Thutmes III. are square, and those in Seti's hall are round. See K on the Plan of the Temple, Vol. II. p. 11.—ED.

The general superscription, which relates to the towns of Upper Ruthen, is translated as follows:—

'This is the catalogue of the inhabitants of the country of Upper Ruthen, who were taken prisoners in the hostile town of Megiddo. His Holiness took away their children as living prisoners to the town and fortress of Suhen in Thebes on his victorious campaign, as his father Amon, who had led him on good paths, commanded him.'

We observe on these words, that Suhen designated a particular fortified place, which was situated on the territory of the mighty Thebes, and was used for the reception of prisoners. A second similar catalogue of the same people, or rather of their towns, is introduced by the following inscription:—

'These are in their entirety the unknown peoples of the furthest end of Asia, whom his Holiness carried away as living prisoners. [Unknown was their land]; it had never been trodden by the other kings of Egypt, with the exception of his Holiness.'

In this the writer, out of flattery to the king, has made an obvious mistake, as a glance at the deeds of the predecessors of Thutmes III. must convince us.[5]

Over a third catalogue, finally, we find the following words:—

'This is the catalogue of the inhabitants of Upper Ruthen, whom his Holiness captured in the hostile town of Megiddo. His Holiness carried away their children as living prisoners to the town of Thebes (*Us*) to fill the house of his father Amon (the Lord)

[5] Compare above, pp. 338, 339. [But, as we have observed before, the boast is one of the *set phrases* of triumphal records, not only in Egypt, but also in Assyria, where its repeated application to the *same nations* shows how often the conquests had to be renewed. —ED.]

of the town of Thebes (*Ape*) on his first victorious campaign just as his father Amon, who led him on good paths, commanded him.

1. Kadeshu (Kadesh on the Orontes)
2. Maketha (Megiddo)
3. Khaai
4. Kithsuan (Kishon)
5. 'Anshu
6. Debekhu (Heliopolis?)
7. Bem'ai
8. Kamatha (Gamzo?)
9. Tuthian (Dothaïm)
10. Libina (Libnah)
11. Qireth-Nazan (Kiriath-Sannah)
12. Maroma (Merom)
13. Thomasku (Damascus)
14. Athal, or Athar (Adar)
15. Abil (Abila)
16. Hemthu (Hamath)
17. Aqidu (Acod)
18. Shemaan (Samulis?)
19. Biarut (Berytus)
20. Maazan (Madon)
21. Sarna (Sharon)
22. Tubi (Tub)
23. Bizan (Batne)
24. Amashan
25. Masekh
26. Qaanau (Qanah)
27. 'Alan (Eglon)
28. Astharut (Ashtaroth)
29. Anau-repaa (Rapheion)
30. Maquta (Maqedah)
31. Luis (Laïsh)
32. Hazor (Hatzor)
33. Pa-Hil
34. Kinnarut (Chennereth)
35. Shamaan
36. Athamem (Adamaim)
37. Qasuan.
38. Shenama (Shunem)
39. Maskhal (Misheal)
40. Aksep (Achsib)
41. Keb'asu'an (Kabseim)
42. Ta'anak (Taanach)
43. Ible'amu (Jebleam)
44. Kentuasan (var. Kuasan)
45. Reta'arka
46. 'Aina (Aïn)
47. 'Aak (Acco)
48. Lesh-kedesh
49. Keriman (Carmel?)
50. Biar (Bera)
51. Shemesh-Athuma (Shems-)
52. Anukharuth (Anacheroth)
53. 'Aper (Ophra)
54. 'Aper (Ophra)
55. Khashbu (Heshbon)
56. Thasuroth
57. Negabu (Negeb)
58. Ashushkhen (Shihan)
59. Rianma (Meriamme)
60. Irza
61. Maakhas
62. Iopu (Joppa)
63. Kenut
64. Luthen (Lod)
65. Auanau (Ono)
66. Apuqen (Apheca)
67. Suko (Soccho)
68. Ihema
69. Khabizan
70. Kenuth
71. Makthel (Migdol)
72. Apthen
73. Shabatuan (Rivus Sabbaticus)

74. Thia
75. Nauon (Naïn)
76. Haditha (Hadida)
77. Har (Har)
78. Ishpar (Saphir)
79. Lagaza
80. Kerer (Gerar)
81. Har-ar (Har-el)
82. Ribau (Rabba)
83. Numaan (Noman)
84. Neaman (Noman)
85. Marmaam (Mamre)
86. 'Ain (Aïn)
87. Rehub (Rehoboth)
88. Aqar
89. Haiklim (Haglaïm)
90. Aubil (Abil)
91. Autar'a
92. Aubil (Abil)
93. Kenthau (Kanath)
94. Maqriput (Markaboth)
95. 'Aina (Anaia)
96. Kaloman (Gallim)
97. Bethia (Beth)
98. Tapun (Daphne)
99. Aubil (Abil)
100. Irut (Jethir?)
101. Harkaro (Rhinocorura)
102. Iaqob-Aal
103. Qaputa (Chaphtis)
104. Qasil
105. Ribut (Rabbith)
106. Maqlut
107. 'Amuq (Emeq)
108. Saltha (Zarthan)
109. Barut (Beroth)
110. Beth-Shear (Beth-Shean)
111. Beth-anta (Beth-Anoth)
112. Khalqut (Helkath)
113. Anqen'-amu (Engannim)
114. Qebau (Gibeah)
115. Telel (Tharala)
116. Zaftha (Sepheth)
117. Bereqan (Baraq)
118. Heum . . .
119. Akmes

By his admirable researches, following in the steps of that great master of Ancient Egyptian studies, the late Viscount E. de Rougé, our colleague M. Mariette-Bey [6] has gained the honour of having made the most valuable contributions to the elucidation of this long list of names; although we still require, as a matter of the highest consequence, a more thorough examination of the pronunciation of the old Egyptian letters, in comparison with the Hebrew writings. In spite of many differences of interpretation, the greater number of the names which have been handed down

[6] *Les listes géographiques des pylones de Karnac, comprenant la Palestine, l'Éthiopie, le pays de Somâl.* Leipzig, 1875.

to us may be regarded as having their locality completely established.

What gives its highest value to this catalogue is the indisputable fact that, more than 300 years before the entrance of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, a great confederacy of tribes of a common race, which the monuments call by the name of Ruthen, existed in Palestine under petty kings, who dwelt in the very same towns and fortresses (as recorded on the monuments) which, for the most part, in later times fell by conquest into the hands of the Jewish immigrants. Among these the king of Kadesh on the Orontes, in the land of the Amorites—as the inscriptions expressly testify—played the first part; for the kings and their peoples from the water of Egypt (the same as the brook which the Bible makes the boundary of Egypt) to the river-land of Naharain (afterwards called Mesopotamia) obeyed him as their chief leader. With these were joined the Phœnician Khalu, who dwelt in the country on the sea-coast, called Zahi by the Egyptians, and whose capital was Aradus, as also the Kiti (the Chittim of Holy Scripture), who had taken possession of the island of Cyprus, and in all probability of the sea-coast lying to the north of Phœnicia. The triangle between the three points, Kadesh, Semyra, and Aradus, formed the oft-mentioned theatre of hostile encounters.

As in these inscriptions—the tablet of victory and the lists of towns—we recognize the official representations of the victorious campaigns of the king, and their results, so on the other hand, since the discovery

of an inscription in the tomb of a certain Amenemhib, a military captain, who took an active part in the campaigns of the third Thutmes, we are placed in the fortunate position, not only of hearing the official reports confirmed by another witness, but also of learning additional circumstances of great interest, which occurred during this campaign, and perhaps, also, during later ones. Amenemhib has described his course of life in plain and simple language, according to the style of writing in his day, and he often takes occasion to admire the great deeds of the king, whom, as a warrior, he accompanied in the closest attendance on his campaigns.

I give the following literal translation of the whole inscription according to the copy published by its discoverer, Professor Ebers.[7]

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE CAPTAIN AMENEMHIB.

'(1) I served (2) my royal lord on his campaigns in the North and South lands. He wished me to stand by his side. (3) And I fought hand to hand against this people of the (4) land of Negeb. I carried off three grown-up 'Amu as living prisoners.

'Then when his Holiness went to the land of Naharain (5) I carried off three grown-up men in hand-to-hand combat. I brought them before his Holiness as living prisoners.

'(6) Again I was in a hand-to-hand combat in that campaign against the people of the high plains of U'an westward of the land of Khalibu. I made of the (7) 'Amu, living prisoners 13 men, 70 live asses, and 13 iron spears inlaid with gold.

'(8) Again I fought hand-to-hand in that campaign against the people of Karikaimesha. I carried away (9) [some inhabitants] as living prisoners. I waded through the water of Naharain, while

[7] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang 1873, p. 3. [The inscription is translated by Dr. Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 59, foll.—ED.]

they were in my hand [without letting them go]. (10) I brought them before my royal lord. Then he rewarded me with a rich reward, namely [. . .].

'(11) I admired the brave deeds of king MEN-KHEPER-RA (Thutmes III.), the dispenser of life, against the people of Zor. He had done [. . . (12) against] them. I was a hand-to-hand combatant before the king. I made spoil of a hand. He gave me a golden reward for this, namely [. . .], and (13) two rings of white gold.

'And again I admired his valour, while I belonged to his servants. He took (14) Kadesh. I did not remove from the place where he was. I carried off from among the nobles two men as [living prisoners. I brought them] (15) before the royal lord of the land, Thutmes—may he live for ever! He gave me a golden gift for my valour before all the people, (16) namely, of the purest gold one lion, 2 necklaces, 2 helmets, 2 rings.

'And I admired my lord [. . . (17) . . .] in all his appearances, on account of the strength of [his] arm [. . . land . . .] . . . ha. When it happened another time, (18) I mounted up to the [. . .].

'(19) Again I admired his strength against the land of Takhis which is situated on the shore (?) of Lake Nesru. (20) I fought hand to hand on it before the king. I carried off three men of the 'Amu as living prisoners. Then my lord gave me (21) golden rewards of honour; namely, 2 golden collars, 4 rings, 2 helmets, a lion, and a slave.

'(22) Again [I admired] another extraordinary deed, which the lord of the country performed in the neighbourhood of Ni. He hunted 120 elephants for the sake of their tusks on [his chariot?] (23) I encountered the greatest among them, which attacked his Holiness. I cut through his trunk. Being still alive [(24) he pursued me]. Then I went into the water, between two rocks. Then my royal lord rewarded me with a golden gift; (25) namely, [. . .], and with three dresses.

'Then when the king of Kadesh sent forward a horse (26) with the head of a [. . .], which dashed in among the warriors, then I ran after him (27) on foot, holding my dagger, and ripped up his belly. I cut off his tail and gave (28) it to the king. Praise on the part of the divine one for this. The joy which he bestowed filled my body, and pleasure thrilled through my limbs.

(29) 'His Holiness caused the bravest of his warriors to go before. The fortress was to be broken into, which the inhabitants of Kadesh had newly erected. I was he (30) who broke into it. I was the leader of all the brave men; no other did it before me. I went on, I brought back of the nobles (31) two men as living prisoners. My royal lord renewed his thanks to me for this by (32) splendid gifts of every sort. Contentment was with the king.

'I achieved these battles while I was a captain. Then [he commanded that] (33) I should be the person to arrange the sails [on his ship. And] I was the first of his suite (34) in the voyage on the river [in honour of Amon] at his splendid festival in Thebes. The inhabitants were full of joy [on that account]. (35) Lo! the king finished his course of life, after many years, glorified by conquests and by [victory . . . .], (36) and by triumphs, beginning from the 1st year, down to the last day of the month Phamenoth, of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, (37) MEN-KHEPER-RA THUTMES, the justified. Then he flew up to heaven, when the disk of the sun went down. The successor of a god joined himself to his parent.

'When now the earth became light and the morning (38) broke,[8] the disk of the sun rose, and the heaven grew clear, then was the king AMENHOTEP II. (may he live for ever!)[9] (39) placed in the seat of his father, and he took possession of the throne. The greatest fulness of strength was his. For the foreign [inhabitants] (40) of the Red Land (Tesher) and their chiefs had he subdued. Appearing like Horus, the son of Isis, he took possession [of Egypt. (41) And the inhabitants of this land] and they who dwell in the land of Kenemti (the Oasis Magna), and all people bowed down before him. Their gifts were on their backs, (42) [while they] begged [of him] the breath of life.

'Then it was that his Holiness looked on me during the festive voyage that he celebrated on the ship, (43) the name of which was

[8] Does this imply that it was the Egyptian custom to proclaim a new king at sunrise on the morrow of his predecessor's death? —ED.

[9] In Dr. Birch's version, the new king's full names are given: 'The anointed king of Upper and Lower Egypt, RA-AA-KHEPER-RU, the son of the Sun, AMENHETEP (II.), the giver of life, was established on the throne of his father.'—ED.

Kha-em-wa-suten. I [conducted the disembarkation] at the splendid festival of joy of the Southern Thebes, in observance of the prescribed order [of the festival]. (44) Then they took me up into the interior of the king's house, and I was made to stand before [the king, and they spake before him]. Aa-khepru-ra, (45) concerning my merit. Then I fell down forthwith before his Holiness. **And he spake to me thus:**

"'I know thy worth. I lay still yet in the cradle as [the child] of the [deceased] lord of the land (46) when thou didst [already] serve my father. Let an office be granted to thee by my order. Be from this time forth a commander (*Adon*) of the army. In pursuance of what I have said, watch over the brave troops of the king."

'The commander Mah accomplished all that he had said.'

The brave captain had evidently several campaigns in view in his account, which we have given above from the original inscription. But the first and most glorious campaign certainly formed the chief part of his own history. According to him, the king went on a campaign first of all in the land of Negeb, that is, the land of the South, by which name also the Biblical records are accustomed to designate the borderland to the south of Palestine.

The second theatre of the king's wars is designated as the river-land Naharain. We are here at once transported from the south of Palestine to the northern parts of the land. A third expedition carries us to the highlands of U'an, towards the west of Khalebu (Khalybon), the inhabitants of which were of the race of the 'Aamu. By this the author seems to have meant the mountainous country situated on the two banks of the Orontes, which forms a continuation of the mountain chain of Lebanon towards the north.

Here lay in Greek antiquity the little town of Daphne, celebrated for its laurel grove (perhaps the Tunep of the inscriptions?). Probably we should understand by it the country called in our account the 'U'an-tree-land,' since there was a second Khaleb, in Hebrew Khelbon, to the north-west of Damascus, and to the east of Antilibanus, which enjoyed a great reputation from its successful cultivation of the vine. The object of the fourth campaign was the well-known town of Qir-qamisha, the Karchemish of the Bible, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, which must here be understood under its Egyptian name of 'the water of Naharain.' The well-known Phœnician capital of Zar-Tyrus (Tyre) was reached in the fifth campaign; while a sixth was directed against Kadesh, a city already familiar to us. The seventh campaign was undertaken against the city of Tekhis, or Takhis, on which the inscription, at this place half destroyed, had, however, added the remark:—('*Enti*) *em septi en Nasru* [*na*]'—'which is situated on the bank of the Nasruna.'

The city of Takhis is frequently mentioned by the Egyptians, for it was considered one of the most important places of Upper Ruthen, as it is expressly called in the stone inscription in the temple of Amada in Nubia. It is named with other principal towns in a roll of papyrus,[1] in which a writer reproaches his friend: 'Thou hast not gone to Thakhis, Kafir-Mar-

[1] Pap. Anastasi, No. I. p. 22, line 3. [For the translation of this very interesting document of the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty and an account of its purpose, see Vol. II. p. 110.—ED.]

lan, Thamenit, Kadesh, Dapu, Azai, Har-nemmaa; thou hast not beheld Qartha-Anbu near Beta-Thupar; thou dost not know Adulam and Zidiputha; likewise thou knowest not the name of Khanroza, which is situated in the land of Aup, with the bull on its frontiers, the place at which is beheld the battle-tumult of all brave men.' The last-named country, Aup, formed the northernmost boundary of the Khalu or Phœnicians, who, at a certain period of Egyptian history, had taken possession of the whole territory of Zal-Tanis on the coast as far as Aup.

On his eighth campaign against the town of Ni, we must particularly remark that it appears to have been a land of elephants, in which the king gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, and killed not less than 120 of these enormous beasts. The town of Ni, often confounded with Nineveh (because in the compound form *Dema-n-Ni*, 'the town of Ni,' the sign of dependence *n* was added to the proper name Ni, which was therefore read *Neni*), lay more to the north than the city of Kadesh on the Orontes. In the catalogue of Karnak it does not appear among the towns of Upper Ruthen, but in a second list of towns which were situated in the country of Northern Syria, in Naharain, and which under their petty kings could boast a rich development at that time. We are not at present in a position, by the help of any recorded circumstances, to identify it with any known town of antiquity.

A marvellous story introduces the account of the ninth campaign, which ended with the storming of

the fortress of Kadesh. On his return home our hero had the honour of conducting, in his own person, the holy ship of Amon 'on his journey (to Thebes) to his splendid festival of the [southern] Thebes,' an allusion no doubt to the same festival which Thutmes III. had mentioned in his record of his donations,[2] and which fell on the 14th day of the month Paophi.

A more careful examination of the fragments of the tablet of victory, which inform us of all the campaigns of the king, from the first battle of Megiddo to their conclusion, leads us to the certain conviction, that, from the 23rd to the 40th year of his reign, Thutmes III. undertook fourteen campaigns against the inhabitants of Western Asia. So far as the fragments will allow, we will here give, on the authority of the tablet, the following general summary of them.

Year.	*Campaign.*	
23	I.	Against Ruthen.
24–28	II.–IV.	Against Ruthen.
29	V.	The points of attack were the towns of Tunep and Aradus. The land of Zahi (Phœnicia) was laid waste.
30	VI.	Against Ruthen. The cities of Kadesh, Semyra, and Aradus were laid under contribution.
31	VII.	Against Ruthen as far as Naharain, where two memorial stones were set up at the river. Contributions levied on the towns and lands of Ananruth, Ni, Libanon, Singara, and Kheta. Nubia and Ethiopia deliver their tributes.
32	VIII.	Against Ruthen, for the levying of the war-tax in which the king of Assur is assessed.
34	IX.	Against Ruthen and Zahi. The king of the island of Asebi (Cyprus) appears with his tribute.

[2] See above, p. 389.

Year.	*Campaign.*	
		Nubia and Ethiopia likewise deliver their tributes.
35	X.	Against the land of Zahi.
36	XI.	
37	XII.	
38	XIII.	Zahi brought under tribute ; likewise the island of Asebi (Cyprus), and the king of Arrech (Erech ?). Ethiopia and Nubia appear as tributaries.
39	XIV.	Against Ruthen. The Shasu-Arabs and the inhabitants of Zahi laid under contribution.
40	XV.	Against Ruthen.

It will contribute to our knowledge of the art of military operations in those days, to cast a glance at the statements of the inscriptions. According to these, the hostile towns were summoned to surrender. In case they did so, the inhabitants were treated as friends, and a moderate war contribution was imposed. In the contrary case, the king proceeded to the attack, put the inhabitants under contribution, and imposed a heavy war-tax to be paid yearly. Repeated and obstinate rebellion was punished by the destruction of the towns, the devastation of the crops and trees, the carrying away of hostages, and increased war contributions. With regard to the last, it may not appear superfluous to compare the Egyptian accounts of their nature with others transmitted to us by the ancients. According to the searching enquiries of Professor Movers,[3] they consisted in the following productions of the soil and of human industry, which were for the most part brought from foreign countries on the highways of commerce by

[3] *Phoenizisches Alterthum*, Bd. iii.

the Phœnicians, the English of antiquity. The following articles were brought from Palestine and Phœnicia:[4] corn, from the land of the Ammonites, the chief supply from Galilee, also from Samaria, and Moabitis, Joppa also was rich in it:—olive oil, from Judæa and Galilee, whence it was exported to Syria, Arabia, and especially to Egypt. Further, wine, a considerable amount of honey (date-honey and grape-syrup), woollen garments, linen, and fabrics of byssus, the balm of Gilead, so much esteemed in Egypt (the discharge of the resin or gum of the mastich tree), storax (*nekoth*, used as incense) from Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine, resin (*loth*, the Greek *ledanon*, a third kind of resin), asphalte (*khemar*, much in request in Egypt for embalming), dates, palm wine, and date-honey from the date-palm-tree. The Phœnician trade embraced gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron, as well as slaves, who were carried away from Syria and Palestine. The Assyrian-Phœnician trade (on the great Syrian roads of commerce) consisted of costly stuffs and magnificent garments, of byssus, coloured embroidery, wool, precious ointments, Aram-wine (the best being from Khalybon and the neighbourhood of Damascus), purple, fine ointments, coral, carbuncles, rubies, and other precious stones. The staple of the trade for these articles was Babylonia. From Arabia were brought to market gold, precious stones, spices, and sweet-smelling wood.

In this condensed sketch we recognize nearly

[4] For the sake of clearness Dr. Brugsch calls the districts by their later historic names.—ED.

everything that is mentioned by name among the articles of spoil on the tablet of victory :—

Naharaina (Mesopotamia) :—Men-servants and maid-servants ; horses, cattle, and goats ; fruits, oil, balsam ; gold, silver, lead, materials for colours, precious stones. Further ; *Asmara* (or *Asmala*, compare the Hebrew *hashmal*, electrum) : helmets, accoutrements, Phœnician bows, vessels and works in silver and gold of Phœnician origin, chariots of war.

The land of *Khita* :—silver and gold rings, white precious stones, Zagu-wood.

The land of *Assur* :—real bluestone, bluestone of Babel.

The land of *Singara* (Sinear) :—real and artificial bluestone.

The land of *Tunep* :—men-servants and maid-servants ; gold, silver, bronze, lead, electrum (?), bluestone, iron, and brazen utensils.

The land of *Limanon* (Lebanon) :—unknown kinds of birds.

The island of *Asebi* (Cyprus) :—brass, lead, elephants' tusks, chariots plated with gold and silver.

The land of *Zahi* (Phœnicia) :—negroes, horses, corn, oil, balsam, gold and silver rings and vessels, most of the works of art, precious stones, Kushite perfumes.

The land of *Ruthen* :—men-servants and maid-servants, besides the king's children, and the children of the noble lords (Marinas), as hostages ; horses, cattle, goats, elephants' tusks ; corn, meal, fruits, oil, balsam, honey ; silver, gold, greenstone, bluestone, other

precious stones; chariots of war, helmets, accoutrements (of leather and bronze), weapons, among them battle-axes with stone heads; works of art in gold and silver, statues, house and tent furniture of costly inlaid work, cedar wood, black wood, Pesga and Zagu wood.

It seems little likely that Thutmes III. ever undertook to carry on his campaigns to the South in person. The inscriptions observe an obstinate silence upon this point. The rich list of names, for the most part of a barbarous sound, which comprehended the lands and peoples of Nubia and Ethiopia, and the catalogue of which in a threefold repetition was placed like a southern tablet of victory opposite to the northern lists of the nations of Upper Ruthen,—appears rather to be the product of vain-glory than of real conquests.

In order to furnish learned enquirers with the opportunity, on some fit occasion, to institute a comparison of these names with the ancient ones which have been transmitted to us, or even with those which still exist in modern times, I here give an exact copy of them on the authority of the inscriptions themselves.

The general heading runs as follows:—

'Catalogue of the (following) peoples of the South countries and of the An (nomad tribes) of Khont-hon-nofer,[5] whom the king has conquered, making a great slaughter among them. No man knows their number. All their inhabitants were carried away as living captives to Thebes, to fill the storehouse of his father the Theban Amon. Now are all peoples subjected to the king, as was the will of his father Amon.'

[5] In the place of the An, one catalogue only names 'the north countries.'

I.[6]

1. 'The miserable' Kush.
2. Ather or Athel (Adulis?)
3. Athel maiu (Atalmo in the inscription of Adulis, M.)
4. Maiu (gold- and incense-land).
5. Arkek (now Arkeko, near Massava, M.)
6. Au-re-ka-re-ka.
7. Bukak, or Bukka (land of the Bugaïtes in the inscription of Axum).
8. Serinik.
9. Berber-ta (land of Barbaria? the present Berber land?)
10. Takaru (Tigré in Abyssinia, M.)
11. Balma (the Blemyes).
12. Gureses (the town of Kassala, M.)
13. Arek, or Alek (Algo-dene near Kassala, M.)
14. Thururek, or Thullek (the island of Dahlak near Adulis, M.)
15. Gulubu (the name of the Koloboi, near Adulis, on the coast of the Red Sea).
16. Ankenna (the island of Acanthine, to the north of Adulis).
17. Begshaga.
18. Tamker.
19. Markal.
20. Tharu-t (Dereh or Deireh, in Nubia, situated on the Nile).
21. Qazaâ (the Gazi of the inscription of Adulis).
22. Meturth.
23. Therther.

II.

24. Wawa-t (the Nubian land mentioned on the rock of Korusko).

[6] The remarks included in round brackets ( ) relate to the comparison of names known from other sources in these extensive countries, which I have met with here and there on certain monuments in Nubia, or elsewhere in the historians, as equivalent to their Egyptian designations. An M attached to the names refers to their identification by Mariette-Bey, which depends upon profound researches, and of which a certain portion cannot be considered as correctly ascertained: there still remains a rich field open for later labours. The names and numbers included in square brackets [ ] refer to an epitome of the same list, of the time of Ramses III. (see Dümichen, *Inscriptions*, vol. i. Plate XIII.). The numbers to the right (e.g. Punt [30]) refer to another list, of the reign of Amenhotep III. The list of Ramses III. furnishes evidence that the kings copied according to their pleasure from their official catalogues of known cities and countries whatever names and in whatever manner suited the space on the walls. An accurate succession and order was entirely disregarded.

25. Antom, Aan-tom (mentioned at Abousimbel).
26. Musu.
27. Behaa.
28. Hetau (mentioned at Abousimbel).
29. Deshfu.
30. Thehebbu.
31. Uthau.
32. Themu-s-nun-th.
33. Pahnun (the Pechini?)
34. Bezu.
35. Zaumen.
36. An-mu-aa.
37. An-beth.
38. Aama (a Nubian land).
39. Buut.
40. Appezu [26].
41. Ahaaafu.
42. Ahaa.
43. Jua.
44. Zat, Zath.
45. Azemet.
46. Aszefu, *var.* Aspefu.
47. Pa or Pa-mu.

III.

48. Punt [30].
49. 'Ahfu.
50. Ammessu [36].
51. Mensau [35].
52. 'Afuah.
53. Qes (?)-u'ahu.
54. Meh-zem'a.
55. 'Auhul (Avalites M.)
56. A'aazem.
57. Memeth, Emmetu.
58. Mebuthu, Embutu [32].
59. Ze (?)-lethet, *var.* Utuleth-t.
60. Setehebu [33].
61. Shâzetom [34].
62. Zehtom.
63. Hekfuh-t (otherwise named Ahâk-fuh, [38]).
64. Uten-t, Uthen-t, [39].
65. Bâm [41].
66. Meset, or Emset, [40].
67. Ab.
68. Aah.
69. Keket [43].
70. Sed.
71. S . . .
72. Kaam (Nubian country, mentioned in an inscription of the Sixth Dynasty).
73. Aaa [44].
74. Aft [45].
75. Mafut.
76. Thetena (Dedan) [47].
77. Hibu (at Abousimbel called Hibuu).
78. Emza, Maza, [42] [*var.* aa.]
79. Bethbeth.
80. Minut.
81. Taseth.
82. Du, Tuh.
83. Bepeseth.
84. Fu-sha.
85. Setha.
86. Kenseth (Nubian country, frequently called Kens-t).
87. Ta-sa.
88. Thehennu (Egyptian name for the Marmaridæ).
89. Hu'at.
90. Zezes [Zazasas, 4].
91. Tep-nukheb.
92. Bash.
93. Mas.
94. Ta-sem-ma.

95. Khesekhet.
96. Ta-a.
97. Tetheres.
98. Urth.
99. Rethen-pen [36].
100. Ubeh [37].
101. Nehes-t [29].
102. Tethenes [30].
103. Zes [Zesan, 31].
104. 'Au ['aa, 32].
105. Ta-shesh-t [24].
106. Behes-t [25].
107. Shas [Shasi, 26].
108. Beket [27, district in Upper Nubia].
109. Ashes-th.
110. Tua.
111. Su (Saï, town of the Automoli).
112. Maseth. } Maseroth, 31.
113. Mes-demu. }
114. Ha-samu (Hasmona, Numbers xxxiii. 30).
115. Aau (Aua, a district near Adulis).
116. Ab-thesa.
117. Kenes-th (balsam-land, mentioned with Uden).
118. . . . . heb.
119. . . . . nhekeb.
120. Mer-ahet-aau.
121. Emha.
122. Reh-hir.
123. *destroyed.*
124. Khenbi.
125. Hezi.
126. Tom . . . rep.
127. Merh-qesu.
128. Aath-t.
129. Fushen.
130. . . . athnep.
131–133. *destroyed.*
134. Seh-tom.
135. *destroyed.*
136. . . . 'ahet.
137. *destroyed.*
138. . . . beh-ke.
139. . . . nnka.
140. Saah.
141. . . . aha.
142. 'Azem.
143. . . . agena.
144–149. *destroyed.*
150. Antetupes.
151. . . . shensem.
152. . . . ak.
153. Khaa-thehen.
154. Kan (Kane).
155. Aakhet.
156. Emeseshes.
157. Aasen.
158. Aasen.
159. *destroyed.*
160. . . . sethen.
161–164. *destroyed.*
165. Kethenes.
166. . . . akhes.
167. . . . aahes.
168–170. *destroyed.*
171. (Ab?)-si.
172–177. *destroyed.*
178. Then-se.
179. Aar.
180. Asteses.
181. Heben.
182. A-mu-bes.
183. Minnut.
184. Uden-t (Vedan, of the Bible, yielded balsam and the stone Hemak).

185. Uaa.
186–193. *destroyed.*
194. Aser-hebu.
195. . . . lether.
196. . . . busha
197. 'ahuu . . l.
198. Anhim . . u.
199. . . . zeh. . .
200–206. *destroyed.*
207. Hatu.
208. Aaui.
209. Ant-beth.
210. Teb-ana.
211. An-a.
212–217. *destroyed.*
218. Neh-fu [31] (Upper Nubian country).
219. Thenusuu (Tenesin, a district near Meroë).
220. . . . . a . .
221. Paut.
222. . . . fubu
223. U-(zed?)-au.
224. (Zed?)-hau.
225. Atega (compare the Athacæ in Abyssinia).
226. Abua.
227. An-shefu.
228. . . . 'at.
229. . . . rhetom.
230–233. *destroyed.*
234. . . . zehem.
235. Uazetam.
236. . . . mel.
237–243. *destroyed.*
244. Aasi-(mer?)
245. Aqesu.
246. Ahath-(mer?) [Ahatheh, 22.]
247. *destroyed* [H. . . nuter, 23.]
248. Tu (mer?) [14].
249. Shebbet [15].
250. Dezuuth [16].
251. A'ashu [A'ashaa, 17].
252. Za-Thehunnu [18].
253. Tepes-tom [Petentom, 9, a place in Nubia].
254. Ai-mennu [10].
255. Absafu (country in Upper Nubia) [11].
256. Hafu [Hufu, 12].
257. Afu . . . [Afu, 13].
258. . . . zem . . a.
259. *destroyed.*
260. . . . iu.
261. Ah . . ut.
262–269. *destroyed.*

In the two halls situated to the north-west of the Hall of Pillars[7] M. Mariette-Bey discovered in his excavations a succession of wonderful representations, which are clearly copies of similar objects on the splendid building of Der-el-bahri.[8] I refer to the pictures, so true to nature (that is, in an Egyptian

[7] Marked Y—Y′ on the plan of Mariette-Bey.
[8] See above, page 351.

sense), of the world of plants and animals, with which the warriors had an opportunity of becoming acquainted during their campaigns in the North and South. By command of the king,—who, like king Solomon at a later time, manifested so strong an inclination for researches in natural history, that four unknown birds gave him greater pleasure [9] than the war contribution of a whole country,—the hand of an unknown artist had the task of transmitting the picture of them to posterity. Water-lilies as tall as trees, cactus-like plants, all sorts of trees and shrubs, leaves, flowers, and fruits (melons and pomegranates: the latter are represented in the richest profusion, and seem to have been especially liked by the Egyptians), oxen and calves, among which is a wonderful animal with three horns, herons, sparrow-hawks, geese, and doves:—all these appear in motley mixture in these pictures, as suited the artist's simple child-like conception of the unknown products of a foreign world. The principal inscription annexed tells us as follows about these objects:—

'Here are all sorts of plants and all sorts of flowers from the land of Ta-nuter ("Holy Land")—[which] the king [discovered] then, when he went to the land of Ruthen to conquer that land, as his father Amon had commanded him. They are under his feet [from henceforward] until an eternity (of coming) years. The king speaks thus: "I swear by the Sun, and I call to witness my father Amon, that everything is plain truth; there is no trace of self-deception in that which has happened to me. What the splendid soil brings forth as its productions, that I have had portrayed (in this picture) in order to offer it to my father Amon, in this great temple of Amon, as a memorial for all times."'

[9] See above, p. 379.

A second shorter inscription is valuable from the date affixed to it, namely:—

'In the year 25, under king Thutmes III.—may he live for ever!—these are the plants which the king found in the land of Ruthen.'

The first and longer inscription appears to contain an evident, one might almost believe an intentional, misrepresentation of real facts. The historical records of the monuments do not relate one syllable about any expedition of the king to the Holy Land, situated far in the south, at least not before the 25th year of the reign of Thutmes III. On the other hand, the way to Ruthen, or Canaan, did not lie through the Holy Land. The tributes imposed upon the lands of the South were brought every year by the inhabitants to Egypt, without their being compelled to do so by any special campaigns. There remains as the result only this supposition, that the name of the 'Holy Land' (or more literally the 'Land of God') was extended to the whole of Arabia, so that the king became acquainted with it in his passage through the Arabian territory to Canaan. It is possible that the king had skirted the peninsula of Sinai in one of his campaigns, but this supposition has no particular probability in its favour, since these regions are among the most dreary and desolate parts of Arabia.[1] As to any idea that 'the Land of God'

[1] I would, however, draw the reader's attention to the fact that, in a rock inscription of the 25th year of this king, the peninsula of Sinai is actually designated as the 'land of God.' (See below, pp. 451–2.) [Comp. also p. 414, verse (15).—ED.]

at all denotes Ruthen-Canaan, in the biblical sense, I frankly declare that it is devoid of all proof.

The priests of Amon, whose temple and treasuries the king had remembered in the most liberal manner, did not content themselves with perpetuating the victories of this incomparable Pharaoh on the inscribed memorial tablet for the remembrance of coming generations; for an unknown poet. of the number of the holy fathers, felt himself inspired to sing and tell to after ages, in rhythmic words, the glory of the king, and the might and grandeur of the god Amon. His song has outlived the ravages of time and the enmity of man. The tall granite tablet, long safely hidden, now adorns the rooms of the Egyptian Museum at Boulaq.[2] As Moses, after the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Sea of Reeds, sang a fervent hymn of praise to the Lord, to exalt the wondrous might and strength of the eternal God, so, three centuries before the wise legislator of the Jewish people, did the now nameless seer of Amon uplift his voice to sing praise, after his own fashion, to his god and to his king. His words run thus:—

(1) 'Come to me,' said Amon, 'rejoice thyself, and admire my glory, | Thou, my son, who honourest me, MEN-KHEPER-RA, ever living. | I shine in the light of the morning sun through thy love. (2) And my heart is enraptured, if thou directest thy noble step to my temple. | My hands sink on (embrace) thy body for the salvation of thy being. Delightful is thy goodness for my holy image. | I stand upright there (3) in my dwelling.

[2] This tablet was found at Karnak. Mr. Villiers Stuart gives a translation of it from the French version by Mariette-Bey (*Nile Gleanings*, pp. 149, foll.).—ED.

'Therefore I will distinguish thee marvellously. I give thee power and victory over all lands. | All people shall feel a terror before thy soul, | And shall fear thee to the utmost ends of the world, to the (4) four pillars of Heaven. | I make thy strength to be great in all bodies, | I make thy war-cry to resound in all the lands of foreign peoples. | Let the kings of the world be all at once in thy grasp.

(5) 'I stretch out my own hands, | I bind for thee with bands and gather together for thee | the wandering Nubians by tens of thousands and thousands. | Those who inhabit the North shall be taken prisoners by hundreds of thousands. | (6) I make thy enemies to fall under thy feet. | Smite the hosts of thine enemies. | Thus I commit to thee the earth, in its length and in its breadth. Let the inhabitants of the West and of the East be subject to thee.

(7) 'Pass through with joyful heart the lands which none have trodden till thy time. | I will be thy leader; reach them. 'Pass through the great ring of water[3] | (8) in the land of Naharain, in full victorious power. | It is my will that the peoples hear thy war-cry, which penetrates into their caverns. | I have taken away from their nostrils the breath of life. | (9) I make thy manly courage to penetrate even to their hearts. | My crown on thy head is a consuming fire: | It goes forth and conquers the false brood of the Kittim. | (10) By its flaming beams the lords among them are turned to ashes. | It cuts off the heads of the 'Aamu; they cannot escape. | It strikes to the ground every one who turns his back before its strength.

(11) 'I make thy victories to go on through all nations. | My royal serpent shines on thy forehead, | And thy enemy is annihilated as far as the horizon. | They come and bear the tribute on their shoulders, | And bow themselves (12) before thy Holiness, | for such is my will. | I make the rebel fall down exhausted near thee, | A burning fire in his heart, and a trembling in his limbs.

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[3] Observe how exactly this phrase describes the region between the Euphrates and Tigris, the 'Mid-river-land' (ἡ Μεσοποταμία γῆ) of the Greeks.—ED.

(13) 'I came, and thou smotest[4] the princes of Zahi.
'I scatter them under thy feet over all their lands.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like the beaming (sun).
'Thou shinest in sight of them in my form.
(14) 'I came, and thou smotest those who dwell in Asia:
'Thou madest prisoners the shepherds of Ruthen.
'I make them behold thy Holiness in the panoply of thy royal dignity,
'How thou graspest the weapons on thy war-chariot.
(15) 'I came, and thou smotest the land of the East:
'Thou camest to those who dwell in the Holy Land.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like the star Canopus,
'Which pours out his light in a fiery glow,
'When he disperses the morning dew.
(16) 'I came, and thou smotest the land of the West:
'Kefa (Phœnicia) and Asebi (Cyprus) fear thee.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like a young bull.
'Full of courage, his horns whetted, he is unapproachable.
(17) 'I came, and thou smotest the subjects of their lords;
'The land of Mathen trembles for fear of thee.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like a crocodile,
'The terrible one in the water; he is not to be encountered.
(18) 'I came, and thou smotest the islanders in the midst of the great sea: | Thy war-cry is over them.
'I make them behold thy Holiness as the avenger,
'Who appears (riding) on the back of his victim.
(19) 'I came, and thou smotest the land of the Thuhen:
'The people of the Uthent is under thy power.
'I make them behold thy Holiness as a lion with a fierce eye,
'Who leaves his den and stalks through their valleys.
(20) 'I came, and thou smotest the hinder lands:[5]
'The circuit of the Great Sea is bound in thy grasp.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like the hovering hawk,
'Which seizes with his glance whatever pleases him.
(21) 'I came, and thou smotest the lands in front:[5]

[4] This reiterated phrase is equivalent in meaning to 'I am come, and I grant thee to smite,' which Mariette-Bey gives as its translation.—ED.

[5] The 'hinder lands' are the regions in the *North*, upon the Mediterranean, the 'lands in front' those in the *South* (Khont-hon-

'The dwellers upon the sand thou hast fettered alive.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like the jackal of the South:
'A hidden wanderer, he passes through the land.
(22) 'I came, and thou smotest the nomad tribes of Nubia,
'Even to the land of Shat, which is in thy grasp.
'I make them behold thy Holiness like thy pair of brothers,
'Whose hands I have united to bless thee.
(23) 'I make thy two sisters shed on thee health and welfare.
'My hands in the height of heaven ward off misfortune:
'I protect thee, my beloved son,
'The powerful bull, who rose up as king in Thebes,
'Whom I have begotten out of [my loins],
(24) 'THUTMES, who lives for evermore,
'Who has shown all love to my Being.
'Thou hast raised my dwelling in long-enduring works,
'More numerous and greater than they have ever been.
'A great gate [guards against the entrance of the impious].
(25) 'Thou hast established joyful feasts in favour of Amon.
'Greater are thy monuments than those of all former kings.
'I gave thee the order to execute them,
'And thou hast understood it.
'Therefore I place thee on the seat of Hor for never-ending many years. | Conduct and guide the living generations!'

Hymns of praise to the Pharaohs, in the spirit of the song of victory we have now cited, were a favourite exercise with the ancient poets, upon the return of the kings from abroad. We possess excellent compositions of this kind, which in form and language reach the very height of poetic art. The conviction forces itself upon the competent critic, that every line, nay each word, in these poetic performances was carefully thought out and chosen, and that empty rhetorical phrases only occur in the translations that have been given, but not in the original texts when properly understood. But even in the latter case,

Nofer, Nubia), according to the Egyptian ideas explained in the Note at p. 255.—ED.

our modern languages, with the modern ideas they are formed to express, are powerless to render the tone which pervades the songs of antiquity. A Homer remains Homer only in his Greek garb.

The foregoing song of victory by the unknown Theban poet, the similar songs of victory in honour of the kings Ramses II. and III., the heroic song of the poet Pentaur on the great deeds of king Ramses II., during his campaign against the king of Kadesh and his allies, will remain for all times unrivalled specimens of the old Egyptian language in its highest vigour. Only one of these songs, the poem of the priest Pentaur, has as yet undergone an examination worthy of its contents, through the exhaustive researches of the late Viscount E. de Rougé, who was occupied upon it for many years. Very wisely has the learned translator refrained from rendering it in the form of verse; but even the bare translation of the words of the Egyptian poet, with a faithful adherence to the expressions of the original, is penetrated with the strong poetical spirit of antiquity, the last bloom of which adorned the era of the Ramessids.[6]

The victories of our hero-king, who during his numerous campaigns brought the countries and cities of Western Asia into his power, to whom were subject Libya and the peoples of Nubia and Ethiopia, as far as the promontory now called Guardafui opposite the

[6] For a translation of the famous poem of Pentaur on the heroic exploits of Ramses II. in his war against the Khita, and an account of the various forms in which it has been preserved, see Vol. II. pp. 47 and 56, foll.—ED.

south coast of Arabia, had brought to Egypt numberless prisoners of every race, who, according to ancient custom, found their fit occupation in the public works. It was principally to the great imperial edifices, and among these especially to the enlarged buildings of the temple of Amon at Ape (near Karnak), that the foreigners were forced to devote all their labour, under the superintendence of the Egyptian architects (*Mer*) and overseers (*Rois*), who had on their part to carry out the orders and directions of the king's chief architect. In those days a certain Puam was invested with this high office at the court of Pharaoh; his name is of Semitic origin, meaning 'one who has his mouth full of food.' The prisoners were obliged, according to their condition, to perform the severest labours in preparation for the buildings. Among these was especially the baking of bricks, as it is portrayed in so clear and lively a manner in the Book of Books in the description of the oppression of the children of Israel in Egypt.

Fate has preserved to us, on the walls of a sepulchral chamber in the interior of the hill of Abd-el-Qurnah, in the region of the melancholy 'land of the coffin-hill' (Du-neb-ankh), a very instructive pictorial representation, in which the pencil of a deceased master has portrayed the industry of the prisoners in lively colours for future generations. Far more convincingly than the explanations, written by the side in old Egyptian letters and words, do these curious drawings themselves enable us to recognize to their full extent the fate and the severe labour of the un-

fortunate prisoners.[7] Some fetch water in jugs from the pond hard by; others knead and cut up the loamy earth; others again, by the help of wooden moulds, make the bricks, or place them in long well-arranged rows to dry; while the more intelligent among them carry out the work of building the walls. The words which are added as a superscription to each occupation give us the authentic information that the labourers are 'a captive people which Thutmes III. carried away to build the temple of his father Amon.' They explain that the 'baking of the bricks' is a work 'for the new building of the storehouse of the god Amon of Apet' (the east side of Thebes), and they finally describe, in a detailed manner, the strict superintendence of the taskmasters over the foreigners in the following words:—

'[Here are seen] the captives who were carried away as living prisoners in very great numbers; they work at the building with dexterous fingers; their overseers show themselves in sight; these attend with strictness, obeying the words of the great skilful lord [who prescribes to them] the works, and gives directions to the masters. [They are rewarded] with wine and all kinds of good dishes; they perform their service with a mind full of love for the king; they build for Thutmes III. a Holy of Holies for (the

[7] These pictures are engraved in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 344; new edit. 1878. To any who may still wish to identify them with the Israelites, it may be pointed out that they are expressly described as 'captives carried away in very great numbers,' that is, *prisoners of war*. Also they are employed at *Thebes*, not in the Delta, like the Israelites who built Pithom and Raamses. But as an *analogy* to their case the illustration is perfect, even to the overseers who made them 'serve with rigour' on the one hand, and on the other, 'the fleshpots of Egypt,' with which their oppressors were wise enough to keep up their strength.—ED.

gods). May it be rewarded to him through a number of many endless years! The overseer (*Rois*) speaks thus to the labourers at the building:—"*The stick is in my hand, be not idle.*"'

The picture and the words, which we have laid before our readers faithfully as they have been transmitted to us, offer an important contribution to the accounts in the Bible concerning the hard bondage of the Jews in Egypt. We read there also, 'Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burthens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses.' 'And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.' 'And the taskmasters hasted them, saying, Fulfil your works, your daily tasks.'[8]

According to the contents of the preceding inscriptions, the buildings were connected with the construction of two different edifices in the temple-precincts of Ape, or Apet, already frequently mentioned. The one consisted in the building of a storehouse, the other the erection of a Sokhem, or 'most holy place,' which was usually situated in the hindermost room of the temples, surrounded on three sides by a row of secluded chambers. In an inscription which covers an entire wall near the most holy place of the Temple of Amon at Ape, mention is made of this building, as I shall show presently. An eloquent wall, much destroyed on the upper side, gives us true information concerning the good deeds of king Thut-

[8] Exodus i. 11, 14; v. 13.

mes III. for the god Amon of Ape and his temple there.[9]

It first relates how the king had dedicated to the temple as a perpetual possession various precious gifts for the different yearly feasts of the god. Among these was

'A beautiful harp, inlaid with silver and gold, with blue, green, and other precious stones, that upon it might be sung the praises of the majesty of the god at all his festivals and under all his names.'

Next is mentioned how Pharaoh had given the order to construct numerous gates (*sebkhet*), with locks of copper and dark bronze, to protect the Holy of Holies against unwarranted intrusion. Statues of the god, rendering accurately the form and countenance of the king, were executed by the hand of a distinguished artist, with the added note :—

'The execution was of such a kind as no one had ever lived to see in this country since the time of the sun-god Ra.'

To this is appended the description of obelisks, in the erection of which silver, gold, iron, and copper were not spared, and which now

'Are reflected in their splendour on the surface of the water, and fill the land with their light like the stars on the body of the heavenly goddess Nut.'

In like manner the impression produced by the obelisks of queen Hashop is described in an inscription on the base,

'The woman-king Makara, the gold among the kings, has had (these obelisks) constructed as her memorial for her father, Amon

[9] The inscription was for the first time published complete in Mariette-Bey's beautiful work on Karnak (Plates 15 and 16).

of Thebes, inasmuch as she erected to him two large obelisks of hard granite of the South. Their tops are covered with copper from the best war tributes of all countries. They are seen an endless number of miles off; it is a flood of shining splendour when the sun rises between the two.'

A statue of the 'successor of Horus,' that is, of the king, a 'beautiful sacrificial table,' and several altars, are added to the previous works. 'Many other gifts' follow afterwards, such as a large jar, made of copper, seven cubits high, and 'many kinds of utensils of silver, gold, and iron, all newly given.'

In his 15th year, on the 27th of Pakhons, the king ordered a completely new establishment of the property of the temple. Among other things the temple was provided with a number of foreign people from the South and North, among whom were children of the kings of the land of Ruthen (Canaan) and of the southern Khont-hon-Nofer. Gardens were given to the temple to grow flowers and vegetables, and 1,800 acres [1] of arable land in various parts of Upper and Lower Egypt were assigned as its permanent property. The contributions also in vegetables, wine, birds, beasts, and so forth, were fixed once for all; and the number of the temples of the god ('his favourite abodes') in other districts of the country was carefully designated, and the sacrifices in them

[3] We use this merely as a general term in the absence of exact knowledge of the Egyptian measures of surface. Dr. Brugsch uses *Aruren*, meaning doubtless the measure which Herodotus, calling it by the Greek name of *arura* (ἄρουρα = 'ploughgate'), describes as the square of 100 Egyptian cubits = nearly 22,000 English square feet, or about half an acre.—ED.

were in like manner granted with royal generosity. In a word:

'The king did more than all his predecessors from the beginning, and proved himself a complete master of sacred knowledge.'

The artists in useful works found here their special employment. The most remarkable works of their hands, executed in succession, were chiefly gates, the names of which (for each gate had its own name) may be read clearly on the spot at the present day. Of one particular part of the temple (the more exact description of which has unfortunately been destroyed in the course of time) it is written,

'The king found it in the form of a brick building, in a very dilapidated condition, being a work of his predecessors. The king with his own hand performed the solemn laying of the foundation-stone for this monument.'

For it was his intention to raise completely new buildings in Ape, and to beautify the dwelling of Amon and his family of gods. Thus the temple was restored as a new building.

The several 'dwellings of the gods in it (they were called Naos, ναός, by the Greeks) were carved out of huge blocks of stone (called in Greek monoliths), with new doors of acacia wood. In these were placed the statues of the gods, as also the statues of his ancestors, the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.'

After the building had been constructed in a 'position corresponding to the four quarters of heaven,' the great stone gateways were erected.

The first 'had doors of real acacia wood, covered with plates of gold, fastened with black bronze, [copper], and iron. On these were placed the full name of the king in copper, gold, and black bronze.'

The whole was shut off by a splendid *Bekhen* or winged building (*propylon*) on both sides.[2] Three gates were connected with it; the first bore the name

'Gate of Thutmes III.; he glorified the greatness of Amon.'

The second was called

'Gate of Thutmes III.; lasting is the gratitude of Amon.'

The third finally:

'Gate of Thutmes III.; a great spirit is Amon.' 'They were covered with plates of pure copper, and the sacrifices were brought in through them.'

The most important work, both as to position and execution, was the *Khesem*, or *Sekhem* (the Holy of Holies), 'the favourite place of Amon,' built of hard stone of the Red Mountain (at Syene).

Thus the building rose; and then followed the thanksgiving of the priests, which the sequel of the inscription recites to us in poetic terms, wherein Amon formed the central point:

'He gives to thee his kingdom. The crowns shall be placed on thy head upon the throne of Hor. The remembrance of thee as king of Egypt shall be lasting. To thee has he given over the united world in peace. All nations bow themselves before thee.'— 'We have heard,' say the courtiers, 'of the king's court, bringing welfare. Thou breathest in a pure life. Thy Holiness is set upon the exalted throne. The judgments of the divine one himself are like the words of the sun-god Ra at the beginning of all things.'

The king, flattered by the praise bestowed upon him, insists with pleasure on his services to the god.

'This building, which was executed in his temple, shall be a

[2] See p. 67.

remembrance of my good deeds in his dwelling. I shall remain preserved in the history of the latest times.'

The distinguished men of the court immediately about the king do not fail, on their part, to offer to their new lord the utterance of their admiration in poetic terms.

The answer of the king is not less grand in tone than the foregoing address. Looking back upon his buildings and presents, he remarks:

'The always-existing, that is Thebes.
'The everlasting, that is the Theban Amon:
'The sun in Hermonthis, whose eye shines in this land.'

The sequel of his enthusiastic words makes us feel certain that Thutmes III. had just been crowned, and in his new dignity he addressed to those present a kind of coronation speech.

'God Amon,'—he assures them,—'is more enraptured with me than with all the kings who have existed in this country since it was founded. I am his son, who loves his Holiness, for that is the same as loving my royal being itself.'[3]—'All nations bow themselves before my spirit. The fear of me is in the heart of the nine foreign nations.'—[God Amon] 'he has poured strength into my hands to extend [the boundaries of Egypt].'

The assumption, that this portion of the inscription relates to the accession of the king as having just taken place, is clearly supported by the fact, which I have now first discovered in old Egyptian records, that the origin of the different throne-names of the king[4] is explained by a sort of paraphrase.

[3] Here is the quintessence of 'the divine right of kings' in its real original form.—ED.

[4] Compare pp. 79, 80.

I have already remarked on the reference to the god Thut in the name Thutmes. The king testifies this expressly in the words, 'My birth is to be compared to that of the God of Hiser' (a special name of the temple of Thut in Hermopolis). Among the new names which were given to the king after the festival of his accession to the throne, we find the phrase *Sam-ta* or *Sam-taui*, 'Uniter of the two worlds.'[5] The reason of this appellation is given in the following words uttered by the king himself:—

'He (Amon) has united (*sam*) the countries (*taui*) of all the gods in this my name, THUTMES SAM-TA.'

In the injured state of the inscription I must leave it to the reader to 'read between the lines' a continuation of the explanation now given in the following translation:—

'. . . . in this my (name): LORD OF THE DOUBLE CROWN: AUGMENTER OF THE EMPIRE LIKE THE SUN IN HEAVEN: He has given me the form of a GOLDEN SPARROW-HAWK; He has given me HIS MIGHT AND HIS STRENGTH; I shone gloriously with his CROWNS in this my name, (the third) (38) [GOLDEN SPARROW-HAWK, MIGHTY, STRONG, OF SPLENDID CROWNS . . . . . .] my crowns. The king's name was written for me alone. He has set up my picture of a sparrow-hawk on the base, he has MADE ME STRONG like a STRONG BULL. He has granted my CORONATION in the interior of THEBES.

(39) [(in this my name) (the first): STRONG BULL CROWNED IN THEBES.]

The further continuation of the inscription, in spite of its injured condition, contains very important

[5] This was also the official name of Cambyses, the 'uniter of the two worlds' by his subjection of Egypt to the Persian Empire. (See Vol. II. p. 299.)—ED.

references to the relations of the king with his sister, to whom there are several allusions under the form of the pronoun '*She*.'

'What I relate,'—remarks the king,—'is no invention: *she* was astonishing in the sight of men, and a secret for the hearts of the gods who knew it all. But *she* did not know it, since no one was (for her) except herself.' He relates further how—'he became comparable to the young Horus (a phrase frequently used by young kings), in the marshy country of Kheb, and how he was obliged to remain in the *town of Buto of the North*.'

There Thutmes III. remained without office or position in the temple of Amon; for

'It is no fable'—he assures us—'so long as I was a child and a boy, I remained in his temple; not even as seer of the god did I hold an office.'

We have here an instructive and remarkable inscription before our eyes, the contents of which throw from all sides an unsuspected light on Thutmes and his solitary youth. He had been banished to the almost inaccessible marsh-country, in order to remove him from the sight of his faithful subjects, and to destroy all remembrance of him. I have already remarked[6] on the importance of this locality in an historical sense, and I shall take the opportunity later to speak more fully of Buto and its marshes.[7]

A second record (unfortunately again half destroyed) relating to the building of a temple and the laying of its foundation-stone by the king in person, gives us the date of the 24th year of the reign of Thutmes. It is on a large stone tablet, the last remains of which are now preserved at Boulaq. For-

[6] Compare p. 361. [7] See Vol. II. pp. 315, 316.

tunately the first and most important lines of the inscription are well preserved, and give us a general insight into the meaning of the affair. After setting forth the official names of the king, as we have already given them, it proceeds :—

'According to the express order of the king himself, this was set down in writing, concerning the communication orally carried on as to the erection of a memorial-building, on the three sides which bend toward the canal, ... for I (the king) wished to raise a memorial to my father Amon-Ra in Ape, to erect (his) dwelling, which glorifies the horizon, to restore (the temple territory of) Kheft-hir-neb-s, the favourite abode of my father from the beginning. I wished to execute this for him, the Theban Amon-Ra, on this territory, of hard stone, and of a gigantic size. But because [the canal was there, which conducts] the water to the shrine of the god Nun, on the arrival of his season,[8] I built him another temple, with a loving heart, and caused him to be brought in thither. What I did for him happened for the first time (i.e. had never been done before). The shrine stands ready in the east of that temple. Then I found that the circuit wall was built of brick, and that the ground was [deeply hollowed out, so that the ground sank in], to give more room for the water to this temple. It had to be cleaned out. I had the dirt removed and the dams pulled down which were near it. Thus the space was now clear. I caused this site to be built upon, on which the surrounding wall stood, in order to erect on it this memorial building, desiring to found a splendid temple to [the god Amon of] Ape. It was to be constructed anew. The (official) drawing of (the architect) made the beginning. Never have I placed the like on the monument of any other. I say this in all truth, for *I know every one who knows nothing about me*, and speaks lies. But that which has happened is no feigned invention in place of the truth, nor an intentional deception calculated to bear the appearance of truth. He knows me, whoever agrees with me about this. I gave the order to place cord and pegs in readiness (for laying the foundation-stone) in my presence. The beginning of the day of the new moon

[8] Nun was the god of the inundation. (See below, p. 429.)—ED.

was fixed for the festival of the laying of the foundation-stone of this memorial.

'In the year 24, on the last day of the month Mekhir, on the festival of the 10th day of Amon's [festival on his splendid feast of the southern Ape? . . . .] there was a sacrifice offered to the god (at) his great abode. After this I went in, to accompany my father Amon. The god went thither on his feet, to celebrate his beautiful festival. And the Holiness of this god was wonderful to behold. [Then drew near the form] of this god. Pegs and cord were ready. Then his Holiness placed me before him, towards this monument. And I began. Then the Holiness of this god was full of joy at this monument, on account [of my love for him]. Then [the Holiness] of this god went further, and the beautiful feast was celebrated to my lord. Then I came forward, yes I, to complete the business of the laying of the foundation-stone, because . . . . . [before] him. He went out, and the work of the first stroke of the hammer for the laying of the foundation-stone was to be performed. Then the Holiness of this divine one wished himself to give the first stroke of the hammer . . . . [to keep out the water] of the inundations of the fields . . . . . of the pickaxe. The lines of the fields were drawn . . . . . all that he had done. Then was I full of joy, when I saw the great wonder, which my father had done for me . . . . . My heart was in a joyful humour at that beautiful procession, to make a beginning of this memorial. There was laid [in the foundation-stone a document] with all the names of the great circle of the gods of Thebes, the gods and the goddesses . . . . And all men rejoiced. After this . . . . of copper was prepared for him.'

Here the stone and the inscription break off.[9]

What gives to this record a very special importance, besides the account of the building, is the new reference to the enmity of his sister and her adherents. The words of the king, 'I know every one,

[9] The whole inscription is printed in Mariette's *Karnak*, Plate XIX. Some passages of the hieroglyphic text evidently need rectification.

who knows nothing of me,'—the assertion that he had made no memorial erected by others his own,[1]—and that he spoke the truth,—scarcely need further explanation, for they appear to be expressions deliberately aimed at his sister-colleague, who dealt in deceit and lies, and who, on the monuments still preserved to our time, chiselled out with unsparing hand the names of her own brother and husband, and replaced them by her own.

The memorial-stone just cited was found, as Mariette-Bey assures us, in a side-room to the north-west of the holy of holies in the temple of Karnak.[2] As the plan of the Sekhem or holy of holies had already been described in the inscription of the 15th year as completely built, there is no alternative but to suppose that Thutmes III., in the 24th year of his reign, built the whole northern wing of the temple, after diverting the canal which was in the way, and removing the temple of the god of the inundation (Nun) connected with it. The improvements made by him in the buildings of the temple, the ruins of which still stand at Karnak, and their union and restoration according to the plans of their original builders,—which Mariette-Bey has exhibited in all their details to the learned world in his admirable work on Karnak—enable us to recognize at the first glance the lion's share which belongs to the great Thutmes III.,

[1] This is hardly consistent with his vindictive zeal in erasing the names of Hashop and substituting his own, as is done almost everywhere at Der-el-bahri.—ED.

[2] The room is marked K on Mariette's Plan, Plate V.

among all the royal builders, as founder of several edifices of the temple.

Besides the central nucleus (already mentioned) of the magnificent temple-buildings of Amon at Ape, in the neighbourhood of the holy of holies, or, as it was called, the god's 'great abode,' Thutmes III., in the course of his long reign, erected the stupendous Hall of Pillars[3] and the chambers and corridors belonging to it on the east, and the series of gigantic gateways with wings on the south. The Hall of Pillars of the king, called Khu-mennu, or 'splendid memorial,' was dedicated not only to the god Amon but also to the deified rulers, whom Thutmes III. regarded as his legitimate predecessors on the throne, and as the ancestors of his own house. Here, in one of the chambers situated towards the south, was found that celebrated wall of the kings which is known to science under the designation of the Table of Kings of Karnak.[4] In this the Pharaoh traces back his pedigree to his great ancestor Senoferu, of the Third Dynasty (of Memphis), and reckons the kings Assa, Pepi, the petty kings of the name of Antef, the famous sovereigns of the Twelfth Dynasty, and some thirty princes of the Thirteenth, as his illustrious ancestors.

The great wing-buildings of the temple to the south have suffered much from the corroding tooth of time and the destroying hand of man. But even the remains which have survived, a heap of lonely ruins, enable us to judge of the high perfection of

[3] See p. 390, and the Plan in Vol. II. p. 11.—ED.

[4] Marked *g* on the Plan, Vol. II. p. 11.—ED.

the artistic powers, which created such almost unrivalled master-works and were able, by means to us inexplicable, to overcome the resistance of the hardest stone. Whether we suffer our attention to dwell on the way in which these great masses of stone have been brought together and united in a complete structure, perfectly well arranged and producing the effect of symmetry alike in the whole and in the several parts;—whether we feast our sight upon the marvellous ornamental work in stone, by means of which the artist's hand had the skill to delight us with a welcome interruption of the great plain surfaces;—whether we gaze with astonished eyes upon the indescribable dignity and the kingly mien of the remaining statues of standing or sitting Pharaohs and deities;—or whether, lastly, we admire the sharp cutting and the dexterity, never after attained, in the drawing of the hieroglyphics, which in long lines and columns cover walls, pillars, and sculptures, rather as ornaments than inscriptions:—wherever we turn, that sixteenth century before our era, the age of Thutmes and his immediate successors, presents itself to us—the late heirs to that long-buried world of antiquity—as the most perfect bloom of old Egyptian art, equally grand in its conception of the whole, and full of taste and refinement in the execution of the several parts.

Among the sculptures in the precincts of the temple, which have survived the destructive power of time and man for nearly three and a half thousands of years, are several which claim our notice on

account of their historical importance. These are the statues of the royal predecessors of our third Thutmes—his grandfather, father, and brother—which stand before one of the southern temple-wings.

The first statue, a ruined colossal torso of reddish siliceous sandstone, represents a Pharaoh seated. An inscription on his girdle designates him as Thutmes I., and we have here, therefore, the father of the king. The statue was erected by Thutmes II. in honour of the deceased king, with whom was connected the representation of the god Amon himself, according to an idea common with the Egyptians. This is clearly stated in one of the appended inscriptions:—

'King Thutmes II. has erected this monument as a memorial to his father, and to the Theban Amon-Ra, the heavenly inhabitant of Ape.'

A second appended inscription contains a new contribution to our knowledge of the destructive anger of the ambitious Hashop, who mutilated the monument erected by her brother in honour of her own father, until at last Thutmes III. ordered the statue to be re-erected in good condition. This is stated (in spite of breaks) by the following words inscribed upon it:—

'[The lord of the land and] king Thutmes III. the worshipper of the Theban Amon, [restored this monument, which had been mutilated, when he entered] the town Ni (Thebes) of the south country in the year 42, on the 22nd day of the month Thot, with the intention that the name of his father Thutmes I. should be preserved.'

By the side of his father is the small image

of his daughter, the hitherto unknown 'king's daughter and king's wife, the worshipper of her father, Mut-Nofer-t.'

A second statue of the same king bears, besides the name of the Pharaoh, a half-destroyed inscription, which may, however, be easily completed in the following manner :—

'This statue was re-erected in good condition in the year [22 under the reign of Thutmes III.]'

A similar inscription covers the statue of Amenhotep I., the grandfather of our Thutmes III. After the name of that king these words follow :—

'This statue was re-erected in good condition in the year 22 under the reign of Thutmes III.'

As we shall pass over in silence the statues of Thutmes III. himself, we must emphatically insist on the care evinced by this king to honour in every way the memory of his relations, in contrast to the joint queen, Hashop, with whom self-honour and self-glorification appear to have been the only object of her royal power.

That this remembrance of his forefathers was not confined to his immediate relations, but extended back to the first ancestors of his house, I have already shown with reference to the foundation of a hall of ancestors by the command of Thutmes III., 'in the splendid memorial in the east of Ape.' The inscription existing there over the entrances will prove this more clearly than any other assurance. The words run thus (omitting the long official names) :—

'Long live king Thutmes III.! He has built this his monument for his memorial to his father Amon-Ra of Thebes in Ape. To *them* (*sic* in the inscription) this great festive hall was built for the duration of an endless number of years, all new, of splendid clear stone of the mountain of 'An. It shines brilliantly like the vault of heaven: it is well executed as a work for eternity. The king had given the order that the names of his ancestors should be placed upon it, to make their remembrance bloom afresh, that all their likenesses (?) should be cut out of [. . . .], and that great sacrifices to them should be re-established anew, more than [had been done in the times of earlier kings].'

A similar proof of how the remembrance of his forefathers had possession of the heart of king Thutmes III., and of his efforts to preserve their monuments, is furnished by a beautifully carved wall inscription in the second hall of the holy of holies of Ape. Although the opening words which introduce the first two lines have been destroyed by a fracture of the stone, yet the contents of the inscription cannot be mistaken.[5]

'[Because no one] has provided new stone to cover the building of my father Thutmes I., and because no one has finished the building of my father Thutmes I., and the building of the forefathers of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, opposite his building, may my name be preserved everlastingly on the building which has been executed for my father Amon to all eternity!'

This short inscription is in a certain sense very expressive; we may clearly read between the lines the reproach which is made against queen Hashop, that she had so entirely neglected the monuments of her father and of her ancestors in Ape. The stage-temple

[5] See Plate 32 A, in Mariette's work on Karnak. The first words must be corrected to 'erta aner.'

of Der-el-bahri lay, doubtless, nearer to her heart than the good old custom of continuing the buildings at the imperial temple of Ape in honour of the gods and of her ancestors.

The proud and magnificent building at the foot of the steep wall of rock which descended by broad steps to the plain in the direction of the Nile,—the wonderful structures of many-coloured colonnades and richly painted wall surfaces, which shone afar off and presented to the eye of the beholder a fabulous world of wonders,—must naturally have accorded better with the mind and taste of a queen who loved art, than the solemn though stately buildings of the temple of Amon, the design of which had long been marked out by an old ground-plan of former kings and their architects.

Whatever other architectural works the will and order of Thutmes III. caused to be erected on the territory of the 'great city' (Ni-a) we must pass over in silence, since only ruins and fragments prove their existence, and no important historical records are connected with them. We have already mentioned that the king, at any rate partly, erased the inscriptions and names of his ambitious sister.

In conclusion, we will only remark upon the restoration of an older temple, which had fallen into decay, and which lay in ruins on the land of the present town of Medinet-Abou. Thutmes erected an entirely new temple structure, of hard stone, round the newly completed Khesem, or 'holy of holies:'—

'He restored it as a lasting building, when he had found that it was hastening to decay:'—

as a text on the spot says of it. Another inscription at the same place tells us further:—

'He erected this memorial building to his father, the king of the gods, Amon-Ra, for he caused this great house of the gods to be constructed on the site of the ruins of the west district. It is the splendid seat of Amon (built) by Thutmes.' [6]

Great and victorious wars during the long and fortunate reign of a Pharaoh always enabled him to execute numerous buildings and works of art, which covered the ground in all parts of the country, and adorned the temples in the chief cities. For the mass of the captives were naturally employed on the buildings, and their painful existence was thus turned to the best account. Under the government, therefore, of Thutmes III., the land, from its furthest southern boundary to the coast of the Mediterranean, soon had to boast of a whole world of monuments, the ruins of which to this day still indicate the chief features of their character and extent. We must here limit ourselves to pointing out only the best-known buildings, even at the risk of passing over monuments of the time, bearing the name of this king, which we have not visited or known of.

It is difficult to say how far south the Egyptian boundary extended during the reign of our hero. The inscriptions commonly designate by the general expression *Ap-ta* or *Up-ta*, that is, 'horn, point of

[6] See *Denkmäler*, iii. 38, c–d.

the land,' the furthest southern boundary for the time being; while other inscriptions designate the region on the south frontier as Kali, and as the country of Karu, Kalu, or Kari. These names have been supposed to refer to the present Galla tribes, but I would rather connect them with the old name Koloë. This was the name of a place in the far south, which, according to the statement of Ptolemy, was situated in 4° 15′ of north latitude.[7] In these regions all monumental history is naturally silent. The works of Thutmes III. first appear sixteen degrees further north, in the lower Nubian country, from the frontier fortress of Semneh as far as the island of Elephantiné, opposite to the present town of Assouan. The king erected the temple of Semneh in honour of the Nubian-Libyan god Didun or Didiun, and in memory of his great ancestor Usurtasen III., as we have already related.[8] An earlier structure had been erected here by his ancestors; but the dedicatory inscription, dated in the 2nd year, on the 7th Paoni, the translation of which we will now give, states emphatically that the ancient work in brick had entirely fallen into decay:—

'King Thutmes III. erected this building to the memory of his father, the Nubian god Didiun, and of the king Khakeura (Usurtasen III.), and dedicated to them this temple, of excellent

[7] According to a rectification of Ptolemy's latitudes on certain definite principles, which this is not the place to explain, this is equivalent to about 14° or 15° N. lat.—Ed.

[8] See p. 185, where Dr. Brugsch gives the name of the deity as 'Totun.'—Ed.

clear Nubian stone, *for the king had found there a very decayed work in brick.*'

On the opposite side of the river, in the district now, as in ancient times, called Koummeh, the king founded another temple, the stones of which were quarried in the mountains of Shaa-t, and dedicated it to the god of the Cataracts, Num or Khnum.

In the neighbourhood of the Second Cataract, on the western shore of the river, opposite the large village of Wady-Halfah, I discovered, in the winter of 1875, the last remains of a temple on the bank, on which the traces of a long dedicatory inscription could be clearly made out. The temple lay close upon the river, and steps led up to it. This was the great temple of Buhan, as the whole surrounding country was called in ancient times; the Boôn of the Greek writers.

In the rock-tombs of Ellesieh, not far distant from the great and very ancient fortress of Ibreem (Primis), there is to be seen a memorial, both of the king and of Nahi, the governor of the South, preserved to the present day. The inscriptions mention 'the assessments of the peoples of the South, in gold, ebony, and ivory,' which Nahi was bound to forward to his royal master. A memorial stone at the same place exhibits a longer inscription, which begins with the date of 'the 51st year, the month of Paoni, the 5th day.' [9]

[9] To the memorials of Thutmes III. in Nubia is still to be added the small but very interesting temple at Amada, already mentioned, probably first built by Usurtasen III., and restored by Thutmes II., Hashop, and their successors, as a sort of family

Wonderfully beautiful to behold must have been the temple which rose on the island of Elephantiné, a building of Thutmes III. and his successors down to the third Amen-hotep, in honour of the god of the country, Khnum. As recently as the beginning of this century the draughtsmen of the French expedition were able to transfer it to paper in its full completeness, but at the present day scarcely more than two or three stones are left on the old site.

Science has all the more deeply to deplore such a loss, since even these few last traces of it have proved of great service. One of the inscribed blocks, a precious fragment of a once complete catalogue of the yearly feasts and their days, has given us the important information, that in the reign of Thutmes III. the rising of the star Sothis, which took place on July 20, and marked the beginning of the fixed Egyptian year, happened on the 28th day of the month Epiphi.

This date, in consequence of its connection with

chapel. It is fully described by Mr. Villiers Stuart, who gives coloured engravings of the wall-picture behind the door representing Isis embracing Thutmes III. (Plate VII. p. 146), and of another (Plate VI. p. 148) representing Thutmes III. and the goddess Sefekh, 'the lady of writings,' as she is called in the inscription over her head, doubtless the tutelar goddess of the library attached to the temple. The group is the more interesting, as the patronage of letters, to which it refers, is in accordance with the king's name, the 'child of Thut,' the Egyptian Hermes. The names both of Thut and Sefekh (or Saf)—the former with the emblem of *sight*, the latter with that of *bearing*—are found in the Ramesseum at Thebes, on the walls of the 'Sacred Library' mentioned by Diodorus, and described in the hieroglyphs as 'the Dispensary of the Soul.'—ED.

the movement of the stars according to fixed laws—independently of every calculation on the basis of the unsettled chronological tables of a later tradition—will serve for all times as the sole foundation for determining the regnal years of Thutmes III. A strong confirmation of this is derived from the *data* already cited,[1] according to which, in the 23rd year of the king's reign, the 21st of Pakhons fell on a new moon, and in the 24th year the 30th of Mekhir fell likewise on a new moon and at the same time on the tenth day of another month. Such double calculations, which are to be recognized not unfrequently on the monuments, point to the *knowledge and actual use* of a lunar year, as well as of a fixed year, which held its place beside the old traditional vague year, and was sometimes brought in to mark the more exact determination of a date which seemed important. In the 'Chronological Summary of the Reign of Thutmes III.' I have endeavoured to give a conspectus of the dates relating to this king.[2]

At the crocodile city of Ombos, where the inhabitants worshipped the god Sebek;—at Latopolis (now Esneh), with a temple to the god Khnum;—at Eileithyia (now El-Kab), where a temple to Nokheb, the goddess of the South, was much frequented;—at Hermonthis, with its temple to the warrior god of light, Menthu, the ancient tutelar lord of Thebes;—the last ruins which have survived the ravages of time point to former temples, which by their inscriptions boast of Thutmes III. as their builder.

[1] See pp. 371, 427–8. [2] See the Table, pp. 453–4.

We have already spoken fully and at length of his buildings in Thebes. For the sake of completeness, we will here mention a sanctuary which the same king erected to the god Ptah, on the north side of the great temple of Karnak. It was, indeed, only a modest habitation of the primeval god, whose beautiful temples in Memphis were not at all inferior in splendour and size to those of the god Amon.

The name of the most holy city of Abydus, in the interior of the country, with its splendid temples in the sandy desert, of the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty, bids us delay a little longer and take a glance over its territory in search of buildings and works of king Thutmes III. Although scarcely one stone of those ancient monuments has been preserved to our days, yet fate has been kind enough to give us a most satisfactory proof of their former existence. I allude to the important (but unfortunately half-destroyed) document on stone, which was found at Abydus, and now is preserved in the old Egyptian collection at Boulaq. The part of the great inscription still preserved consists of twenty-one long lines of the best writing.

We must first explain that the chief seat of the worship of Osiris in Upper Egypt was at Abydus, just as in Lower Egypt the city of Busiris (the Dudu of the monuments) was especially regarded in the same character. Of the god's dismembered and scattered limbs, his head was buried here at Abydus, and the place was abundantly venerated, even to Greek times, by pious pilgrims who were wont to visit the mys-

terious place of the tomb of Osiris. Distinguished Egyptians of Patoris longed to be buried, after their decease, in the neighbourhood of the King of the West and of the dead, to await their happy second birth in the brightness of his pure light. The kings (as can be proved from the Eleventh Dynasty onwards) strove to show their peculiar veneration of the great god by buildings and presents to his temple. At the general feast of the dead on the 18th and 19th of Thot, as well as at the special feasts of Osiris on the 30th of Tybi and the 3rd of Phamenoth, the holy Seshem bark of the god was borne through the field of U-pak, as the sacred soil around the town was called, and was launched on the lake with mystic ceremonies, and the festival of 'the voyage' of the god was celebrated in the stillness of night.

These observations may serve as necessary for understanding the contents of the record, which began with the date in connection with the names and titles of the king. With these the official portion ended. Then followed the relation of how the priests had gone to the king with the petition that he would generously remember the temple and god of Abydus, for, as its words declare—

'This is a consolation for the hearts of men, and pleasing in the sight of the gods. Found a monument to the god Osiris, glorify the prince of the West, the great god of the first beginning of things. A vestibule of the god Tum is his place: enlarge his honours (?); that will do his heart good. The kings of Upper and Lower Egypt have served him by their works since this world exists. Thou art [the king who will be rewarded for that] which thou [dedicatest] to him. Work for him, for the contentment of

his heart; that that may be done which he has appointed to be done in the land, that the holy of holies of the gods may flourish, that their houses [may be renewed]. For gold is thine, together with silver. The earth-god Seb opens to thee what is in him; the god Thetenen [presents] to thee his possessions, all peoples work for thee, for all the lands of the earth are subjected to thy will.'—'No wish of thine remains unfulfilled: what is profitable, that happens: what is commanded, that is done: what thy person desires, that takes shape!

'Then the king gave to the keeper of his seal the command to set about the work, and to assemble [workmen in numbers, and to deliver] all provision for his servants: and each one of his temple-artists knew the plan and was skilful in his own cunning.[3] No one withdrew himself from that which was given him to do [namely, to build] a monument to his father [Osiris], with the purpose of dedicating it for a long duration, and of restoring in good work the sublime mystery, which no one can see, no one can explain, for no one knows his form; and to prepare beautiful headrests, and frames for lying down,[4] of silver, gold, blue stone, black metal, and all kinds of precious stones.'

From this point the king is introduced speaking in person, as follows:—

'I dedicated to him (all sorts of sacred utensils), cymbals, chaplets, incense-burners, dishes, for the sacrifices. Nothing was wanting, nothing was left to wish for. I also filled the holy bark with pure acacia wood from the ridge of the step-mountain. Its fore part and its hinder part was of pure copper. I dedicated to it a lake, so that the god might make his voyage in it to the festival of the land of U-pek. Also, I gave him . . . . . for the goddess (Dud), the mother of the great circle of the gods of Abydus.

[3] This word is here used in its proper old English sense, preserved in the Bible in connection with art and industry—not assuredly to affect a biblical style—but to keep the shade of expression given in Dr. Brugsch's translation of the Egyptian by the word *Weisheit*.—ED.

[4] For descriptions and engravings of Egyptian pillows of wood, alabaster, &c., and bedsteads, see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. pp. 143, 186, 419, 420; new edit.—ED.

'These were each named as follows:

'Khnum, the lord of Herur,[5] in Abydus;

'Khnum, the lord of Elephantiné, in Abydus;

'Thut, the great master of Hermopolis Magna;

'Hur, of Letopolis;

'Hur, the avenger of his father;

'Ap-Maten of the South;

'Ap-Maten of the North.

'The secret place, which contained their splendid forms, and the poles with which to carry them, were of pure copper, they were more beautifully wrought than they had ever been before, more glorious than what is created in heaven, more secret than the place of the abyss, more [invisible] than what is in the ocean. All this I have had executed for my father Osiris, corresponding to the greatness of my love for him, more than for all the other gods, with the intention that my name may endure, and that my remembrance may continue to live in the house of my father Osiris, the prince of the western land, the lord of Abydus, in all times and to eternity.

'—[I call upon] you, ye holy fathers of this house, ye priests and singers, ye assistants and artists, as you are there, offer the sacrificial gifts, with the tables (or trays[6]) for offerings [in your hand, lay] them down on the top of the altar. Preserve my memorial, honour my name, and remember my royal dignity. Strengthen my name in the mouths of your servants, and let my remembrance be ever preserved by your children, because I, the king, am a benefactor to him who is at one with me, and a severe lord against him who remembers my name in word only. What I have done in this land, that is in your knowledge. It does not appear a fable in your sight, and no man can dispute it. I have caused monuments to be raised to the gods, I have embellished their sanctuaries, that they may last to posterity, I have kept up their temples, I have restored again what was fallen down, and have taken care for that which was erected in former times.

'I teach the priests what is their duty: I turn away the

[5] A town near the later Antinoë.

[6] See the illustrations of offerings presented on tablets or trays held up on the hands of the priests, in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, New Edit., vol. iii. pp. 421, 422, *et alib.*—ED.

ignorant man from his ignorance. I have accomplished more than all the other kings before me. The gods are full of delight in my time, and their temples celebrate feasts of joy. I have placed the boundaries of the land of Egypt at the horizon. I gave protection to those who were in trouble, and smote those who did evil against them. I placed Egypt at the head of all nations, because its inhabitants are at one with me in the worship of Amon.'

We have before us in this document an invaluable specimen of poetical creation, answering to the spirit and the views of those times. What contribution we gain besides from this inscription towards the history of the king, the intelligent reader will easily perceive. We would only in passing direct attention to the concluding words, which place the devotion of the king to the god Amon in the clearest light, and which at a later period gave occasion for a persecution of this god, as we shall learn more fully in the further course of this history.

In the time of Thutmes III., and of his son Amenhotep II., a certain Neb-'aiu filled the distinguished office of high-priest of the temple of Osiris at Abydus. The following summary of his life has been handed down to us on a memorial stone, which was probably set up by command of the king, in the tomb of the deceased.

'(1) A gracious expression of the gratitude of king THUTMES III.—may he live for ever!—(2) for the high-priest of Osiris, NEB-'AIU. Thus he speaks:—I was charged with various work in (3) the temple of Osiris, of silver, gold, blue stone, green stone, and other precious stones. (4) All this was kept under my key and seal. He (the king) recognized my skill. (5) It was his intention that I should render the most valuable service to my lord, as guardian of the temple of his father. (6) I attained thereby to high honour, and gained therefrom gracious royal reward. Then

I was called (7) to his gold-house. My place was in the midst, among his great court officials. (8) I had to look great in the grand hall (of the king), and anointed myself with hair oil. (9) A garland rested on my neck, just as the king does for him whom he will reward.[7]

'Again (10) a gracious reward fell to my share from his son, AMENHOTEP II.—may he live long!—He committed to me the statue of his father, king (11) Thutmes III.—may he live for ever!—and his (own) statue of indestructible duration, in the temple of Osiris. Moreover, a possession of the temple, consisting of (12) arable land and garden land, each marked out, and remaining according to its position for (the service of) the image of the king, (13) Amenhotep II., the friend of Osiris of Abydus, the prince of the West.'

Four lines further on he concludes with the words:—

'(17) Call upon those, who live there (18) on the earth, on the priests and singers, on the assistants and holy fathers of this temple, and on the artists of the sanctuary, even as they are ready:—(19) Let each who approaches this stone read what is upon it. Sing praise and bear love to Osiris, the king of Eternity. (20) Add also the invocation: "May the north wind be pleasant for the nose of the high-priest of Osiris, NEB-'AIU the conqueror by help of Osiris."'

The stone record discovered on a building in the temple of Tentyra by our friend and colleague, Professor Dümichen—a valuable contribution to the history of the building of this temple—bears witness to us that Thutmes III. erected also in a becoming manner the temple-dwelling of the exalted goddess Hathor, a local form of the heavenly Isis-Sothis, and regulated exactly her service on the feast-days. The following is a faithful translation of this document:—

[7] Observe the exact parallel to the phrase—'Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour' (Esther vi. 9, 11).—ED.

'King Thutmes III. has caused this building to be erected in memory of his mother, the goddess Hathor, the lady of An (Tentyra), the Eye of the Sun, the heavenly Queen of all the gods. The great ground-plan was found in the city of An, in archaic drawing on a leather roll, of the time of the successors of Hor (that is the kings): it was found in the interior of the brick wall on the south side of the temple in the reign of king Pepi.'

In spite of the obscure brevity of these words, it appears to me to result with full certainty, that first king Pepi, and after him Thutmes III., undertook —according to the original plan which had been discovered—to rebuild the ancient temple of the goddess.[8] In the time of the Ptolemies this ancient building also had fallen into decay; so that those princes restored the temple anew from the foundation. It is the same to which travellers in our day are accustomed to make their pilgrimages, full of expectation and suspense.[9]

Inscriptions, which have been found on stones in the tombs of Abousir and Saqqarah (the old common necropolis for the generations of Memphis), place it

[8] The ambiguity of this sentence is in the original; but the meaning doubtless is that the original plan was that of king Pepi's architect (see p. 121), and that Thutmes III. rebuilt the temple on the lines of that plan, which was discovered during the preparations for the work.—ED.

[9] The distinction between the original and restored temples is highly important for Egyptian archæology. The existing Ptolemaic temple at Denderah, one of the best preserved in Egypt, is especially remarkable as being still covered in by its roof, the ceiling being painted with a Zodiac which gave ground for wonderful speculations about primeval astronomy, till a Greek inscription and the cartouches of the Cæsars (which had been strangely overlooked) proved its Greek origin. The two other Egyptian Zodiacs, at Esneh and Ed-Dayr, are also of Ptolemaic or Roman times.—ED.

beyond doubt that Thutmes III. erected a temple to the god Ptah of Memphis, and dedicated priests and rich gifts to his divine service.

Likewise the old City of the Sun, Anu-Heliopolis, situated near the present hamlet of Matarieh, was not forgotten by the king. He beautified and finished[1] the ancient temple of the Sun, and, on the authority of an original record on stone, he surrounded it with a stone wall in the 47th year of his reign. By a remarkable combination of fortune, the name of the architect, who carried out the building of the temple of Thutmes in Heliopolis in honour of the Sun-god, has been preserved to us. His style is—

'The hereditary lord and first governor in Memphis, the true author of the order of the feasts (for the temple); the architect in the city of the Sun, the chief superintendent of all offices in Upper and Lower Egypt, the head architect of the king, the chief field-officer of the lord of the land, the steward in the royal palace of Thutmes III., AMEN-EM-ANT;'[2]

and he was, we ought to add, the forefather of that Amen-em-ant, who bore on his shoulders the weight of similar dignities under Ramses II.[3]

Among the obelisks which king Thutmes III. raised in honour of the gods before the great wings of the temple, and which are so frequently mentioned in the inscriptions,[4] the gigantic stone at Constanti-

[1] In the year 1851, after repeated visits to the place, I copied the beautifully chiselled inscriptions on a gate of white limestone, with the name of this king.

[2] Compare *Denkmäler*, iii. 29, e.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 91.

[4] According to a statement in the temple of the Assaseef (the necropolis of Thebes), the height of a double pair of obelisks was

nople occupies a distinguished place. Inscriptions beautifully carved cover the four sides of this huge block, of a rose-coloured granite; they contain the names of the king, with sentences in praise of him, among which the one most important from an historical point of view is in these terms:—

'King Thutmes III. passed through the whole extent of the land of Nabarain as a victorious conqueror at the head of his army. —He placed his boundary at the horn of the world, and at the hinder (i.e. northern) water-lands of Naharain.'

One of the obelisks which stood before the temple of Amon at Ape (Karnak) was brought by the Romans to Rome, and set up there on the public square which now takes its name from the Lateran. This also is ornamented with the name of its royal founder, about whom two separate inscriptions relate as follows:—

'The king has raised these immense obelisks to him (the god Amon) in the forecourt of the house of the god, on the ground and soil of Ape, as the first beginning of the erection of immense obelisks in Thebes (Us).'

The second text gives us a similar statement in these words:—

'The king has erected to him these immense obelisks *at the upper* (or, *at the first*) *door of the temple* of Ape, over against the city of Thebes (Us).'

The boastful statement made in the inscription (although not entirely according to truth),[5] that

not less than 108 Egyptian cubits, equal to 56·7 mètres, about 186 feet. [This is the author's calculation, based evidently on the *royal cubit* of 20·7 inches: the ordinary cubit of 18¼ inches gives just 165 feet.—ED.]

[5] We have already seen that obelisks were set up by the kings

Thutmes III. was the first who cut obelisks and made a beginning with the one now at Rome, vividly reminds us of the assurance of the Roman, C. Plinius Secundus,[6] that 'Mesphres, who reigned in the city of the Sun, first introduced this practice in consequence of a dream.' And this name Mesphres also meets us in the Book of the Kings by Manetho, at the place which the monuments assign with certainty to the third Thutmes. That Thutmes III. did in fact adorn the city of the Sun (On, Heliopolis) with obelisks, is proved by the two at Alexandria, commonly called 'Cleopatra's Needles,' the most ancient inscriptions on which boast of this king as their erector. The overthrown needle, which has now been removed to England, bears in one of the four middle rows the following, among its other inscriptions:—

'King Thutmes III. has caused this monument to be executed in remembrance of his father, the god Hormakhu (i.e. Helios, the Sun). He has had two great obelisks set up to him with a point of gilt copper.'

On the other sides the names of the city of On and its Phœnix-temple (Ha-bennu) are expressly mentioned.[7]

of the Twelfth, and even of the Eleventh, Dynasty (pp. 135 note, 153).—Ed.

[6] Plin. *H. N.* vi. 14. In Manetho's account of the Shepherd kings, as cited by Josephus, he ascribes their expulsion from Egypt to a king named *Misphragmuthosis*, probably for *Mi-phra Thouthmosis*, 'Thothmes beloved by Phra (Ra),' i.e. Thutmes I. Thutmes III. seems to be indicated just afterwards as 'Thuthmosis, son of Misphragmuthosis.'—Ed.

[7] The smaller pair of obelisks here referred to were transported

I have shown above by examples, that several inscriptions in the peninsula of Sinai mention king Thutmes III. The double representation of the year 16 at Sarbut-el-khadem refers to the time of the united reign of queen Hashop and her brother, while another rock-inscription of the year 25 mentions the king as ruling alone. The last is intended to certify the presence of a distinguished Egyptian named Ki, belonging to the court of the king, who betook himself to the valleys of Sinai, in the service of his master, 'at the head of his warriors,' to bring to the king an

to Alexandria under Tiberius, and set up in front of Cæsar's temple, where they obtained the well-known name of 'Cleopatra's Needles.' One of them, after lying prostrate for centuries in the sand, was presented to England by Mehemet Ali Pasha, in 1820, as a memorial of the famous Egyptian campaign of 1801. But the intention of transporting it to England was only fulfilled in 1878 by the munificence of the eminent surgeon Mr. Erasmus Wilson, and the persevering enterprise of Mr. John Dixon, C.E., and it is now erected on the Thames Embankment. Its height is 68 ft. 5 in. (less $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches cut off from the broken end to give the base an even surface). The hieroglyphs on two of its faces express the titles of Thutmes III.; on the other two Ramses II. has added his own; illustrating Dr. Brugsch's remark on the official pomp, devoid of historical information, which is the usual substance of the inscriptions on Egyptian obelisks. The inscriptions have been translated by Dr. Birch; and a full account of the obelisk, from its cutting out of the quarries at Syene to its adventurous voyage across the Bay of Biscay, has been published by Mr. Erasmus Wilson, and in Mr. Dixon's paper, illustrated with plans, in the *Proceedings of the Royal United Service Institution.* The other obelisk remained erect till it was presented by the Khedive Mohammed Tewfik Pasha to the United States, in 1879. The inscriptions of Thutmes III. and Ramses II. on this latter obelisk are translated by M. Chabas in *Records of the Past,* vol. x. pp. 21, foll.—ED.

immense quantity of green stone of 'the land of the gods.'[8]

We here take leave of the greatest king of Egyptian history: the victorious conqueror and ruler of a whole world, from the southernmost lands of inner Africa to the columns of heaven in the land of Naharain; the founder of a multitude of new temples; the upholder of the temples of his forefathers; the highly renowned benefactor of the servants of the gods; to whom, during a long existence, it was granted by the heavenly deities to see the deeds of his arm and the achievements of his genius perpetuated on their temple walls. What wonder then that his contemporaries already worshipped him during his life as a divine being, and allotted to him after his death the honours of an inhabitant of heaven? He came to be regarded as a beneficent guardian deity of the land, to whom prayers were addressed, and whose name, inscribed on thousands of little images and on stone scarabæi set in rings, was effectual as a charm for the wearer against all evil influences of wicked spirits and magicians.

Thus the memory of the king has survived to our days; and it is not by accident that even the sons of Europe and America, whom curiosity and a love of knowledge, or the mild air of the Egyptian sky, leads to the blessed shores of the Nile, learn, first of all the Pharaohs, to praise the name of Ra-men-kheper, which Thutmes III. bore in his cartouche.

For our own part we believe that we have ful-

[8] Compare p. 411.

filled a duty towards the historian by bringing together for his use everything worth knowing that the monuments have preserved to us about this great king. We have felt with pleasure that in so doing we are answering to the thought, which the old Egyptian sages so frequently expressed in the inscriptions in their tombs, that the real life of man is the remembrance of him after his death, in the mouth of after ages to all eternity. And Thutmes III. still lives after his long rest in his grave, and will continue to live so long as succeeding generations shall not lose the love of antiquity, the remembrance of the dead, and the high appreciation of their works.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE REIGN OF THUTMES III.

Year.	*Events.*
1	On 4th Pakhons: Accession (pp. 363, 369).
	(NOTE.—*All the ensuing regnal years date from this day of the month.*)
2	On 2nd Payni: Restoration of the temple-fortress of Semneh (p. 437).
3–4	. . . . .
5	On the 1st Thoth: Date of a papyrus at Turin.
6–14	. . . . .
15	On 1st Mekhir: Beginning of the erection of Hashop's obelisk (p. 362).
	On 27th Pakhons: Institution of the sacrifices to Amon (p. 421).
16	On 30th Mesori: Completion of the obelisk, after seven months' work (p. 364).
	Inscription at Sarbut-el-khadem of the time of the joint reign of Thutmes III. and his sister Hashop (p. 451).
17–21	. . . . .

Year.	*Events.*
	(Thutmes III. reigning alone.)
22	Restoration of the statues of Amenhotep I. and Thutmes I. (pp. 432–3).
	On *x* Pharmuthi : Opening of his First Campaign (pp. 368, 401).
23	On 4th Pakhons : Thutmes III. in Gaza (p. 369).
	On 21st Pakhons : New Moon (p. 371).
24	On 30th Mekhir : Laying of the foundation-stone of a temple at Thebes (pp. 426–8).
25	Inscription at Sarbut-el-khadem (p. 451).
	The King's Second Campaign (p. 411, comp. p. 401).
26–28	Campaigns III., IV. (p. 401).
29	Campaign V. (p. 401).
30–40	Campaigns VI.–XV. : one in each year (pp. 401–2).
41	. . . . .
42	On 22nd Thoth : Restoration of the statue of Thutmes I. (p. 432).
43–46	. . . . .
47	The Temple at Heliopolis enclosed by a wall (p. 448).
48–50	. . . . .
51	On 5th Payni : Dedicatory Inscription at Ellesieh (p. 438).
52, 53	. . . . .
54	On 30th Phamenoth : Death of Thutmes III., after a reign of 53 years, 11 months, and 1 day (pp. 364, 365, 397).

VI. AA-KHEPRU RA AMENHOTEP II. 1566 B.C.

It is a difficult and dangerous position to be the son of a great father, for even the good has always an enemy in the better. His own deeds are eclipsed by the fame of his parent, and the praise of men takes the father's greatness as a measure for the son. Thus it is that Amenhotep II., the son of his great father, shines with diminished lustre, although he also, according to the testimony of the monuments, strove to render useful services to his country and his people.

According to the narrative of the warrior Amenemhib, the brave contemporary of Thutmes III. and of his son Amenhotep II., the last-named king, before his accession to the throne, on the 1st of Pharmuthi, in the 54th year of the reign of his father,[9] had already distinguished himself in battles, which he had been obliged to undertake against the inhabitants of the 'Red Land.' This last term denotes mountainous desert valleys between the Nile and the Red Sea, inhabited by a Semitic race of Bedouins, who lived under chiefs of their own, and often troubled the Egyptians. Amenhotep, at that time the heir apparent of the throne, had succeeded in overcoming the

[9] This precise date is given in the inscription of Amenemhib, p. 397, § 38.—Ed.

foreign settlers, and in forcing their chiefs into submission to the king of Egypt; for, as the inscription remarks, 'he possessed the fullest abundance of might.'

After the death of Thutmes III., a spirit of independence seems to have again risen up in Asia. Again did those leagues of the towns spring up, which sought by united action to withdraw themselves from subjection to Egypt. A monument, now very much injured, at one of the southern wings of the temple of Amon in Ape, contains an exact record of the campaign which Amenhotep II. undertook for the punishment of the rebels, as far as the distant Naharain. This first campaign of the king was directed against Upper Ruthen, and it ended victoriously. Seven kings were taken prisoners in the town of Thakhis, and were brought to Egypt; their further fate we shall soon learn more particularly.

From what this great historical inscription enables us to learn, in spite of its lacunæ—(it was in the year 1875 that I last examined and transcribed its fragments, which are peeling off more and more)—the war against Asia was this time a war of vengeance in the fullest sense of the word. The several towns were visited in succession, thoroughly pillaged, and the booty registered:—on the 26th of Pakhons one town, on the 10th of Payni another, on the 20th of Payni a third;—and so forth. All that can be made out as to the names of the towns is confined to the fortresses of Arinath, Ni, and Akerith, and to the mention of the king of Naharain. The campaign therefore extended pretty far towards the north.

The town of Ni, one of the most important of the land of Naharain, appears to have surrendered to the Egyptians without any serious defence, for

'The Asiatics, inhabitants of this town, both men and women, stood above on their walls to glorify the king.'

Akerith, on the contrary, proved obstinate, for

'It had formed the resolution of driving out the garrison of Pharaoh.'

The booty which the king brought back to Egypt cannot have been insignificant. Among the prisoners (of whom the king had taken eighteen persons, together with nineteen oxen, with his own hand) there were, besides others, 640 Kin'anun, that is, merchants, who were carried away, together with their boys or servants.

The Nubian temple of Amada,[1] which the king finished and decorated, has in the hinder chamber, let into the wall, a large memorial tablet, the inscription on which was intended to recal to memory these victories and their importance, and to serve also as a warning to the inhabitants of the South. It is the more important, as it very minutely informs us as to the fate of the kings taken captive in Western Asia.

I pass over, as only collateral to our subject, the description of the upper part of the picture, in which the king is represented in his Nile ship, the name of which is given, making an offering of wine to the gods of the Nubian country, Hormakhu and Amon-Ra.

[1] We have already had occasion to mention this temple as a sort of family chapel of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and as remarkable for the high preservation of its paintings. (See pp. 438–9.)—ED.

The actual inscription begins with the date of the year 3, month Epiphi, 15th day, of the reign of Pharaoh, and his names. Then follow phrases in praise of the king, quite after the taste of the time, until at last the sacred characters are devoted to information of the greatest historical importance. We will now give a true translation of its contents, so far as our diligence can assure it, without passing over the details of the endowment and the building, which are closely connected with the historical part:—

'At that time' (in the year and on the day of the month which we have mentioned) 'the king beautified the temple [which had been executed by] his father, king Thutmes III., in memory of all his forefathers and the gods. It was built of stone, as a lasting work, with a protecting wall of brick around: the doors were of the best acacia wood, from the ridge of the Table Mountain, the gates of durable stone, all done with the intention of perpetuating in this temple the great name of his father, the son of the Sun, Thutmes III. The king Amenhotep II. celebrated the festival of the laying of the foundation-stone in honour of all his forefathers, dedicating to him (*sic*) a massive gate-tower (propylon) of hard stone, in front of the protecting wall of this splendid dwelling of the god; a corridor, with columns of hard stone, as a lasting work; many sacrificial vessels, and utensils of silver and iron, stands, altars, an iron kettle, fire-holders, dishes, and censers (?). After that, the king had this memorial stone set up and placed in the temple, at the place where the statue of the king stands, and engraved upon it in writing the great name of king Amenhotep II. in the house of his forefathers and of the gods, after he had returned from the land of Upper Ruthen, where he had conquered all his opponents, in order to extend the boundaries of Egypt in his first campaign.

'The king returned home with his heart full of gratitude towards his father Amon. He had with his own hand struck down seven kings with his battle-axe, who were in the territory of the land of Thakhis. They lay there bound on the forepart of the royal ship, the name of which was "Ship of Amenhotep II., the

upholder of the land." Six of these enemies were hung up outside on the walls of Thebes, their hands likewise. Then the other enemy was carried up the river to Nubia, and was hung up on the wall of the city of Napata, to make evident for all time the victories of the king among all the peoples of the land of the negroes; since he had taken possession of the nations of the South, and had made captive the nations of the North as far as the ends of the whole extent of the earth on which the sun rises [and sets] without finding any opposition, according to the command of his father, the sun-god Ra, the Theban Amon.

'Thus has he done, the king Amenhotep II. May he have for his portion a stable, bright, and healthy life, and joy of heart to-day and for ever!'

The statements of the memorial stone of Amada are confirmed in the most complete manner by reliefs and inscriptions, bearing the name of Amenhotep II., which cover one of the southern propylæa of the great temple of Amon at Karnak, as well as by pictures with explanatory inscriptions in the sepulchral chambers of distinguished contemporaries of the king. In a tomb at Abd-el-Qurnah, among other pictures, the king appears as a little child, on the lap of his deceased nurse. The heads and backs of five negroes and of four Asiatics serve him for a footstool. In another representation the king is seated in the attire of a Pharaoh on his throne,[2] the lower part of which is ornamented with the names of the nations and countries which were regarded at that time as subjects of the empire. The

[2] Mr. Villiers Stuart gives a coloured engraving of a picture in one of the grottoes at Ibreem, representing Amenhotep II. seated in full state on his throne, with persons bringing before him tigers and other presents. (*Nile Gleanings*, Plate XLII. p. 160.)—Ed.

inscriptions name the land of the South, the inhabitants of the Oases, the land of the North, the Arabian Shasu, the Marmarides (Thuhen), the Nubian nomad tribes, the Asiatic husbandmen, Naharain, Phœnicia, the Cilician coast, and Upper Ruthen,—in short, neither more nor less than what Thutmes III. had already possessed, or had incorporated with the Egyptian empire.

The building and extension of the temples in Egypt and Nubia, where Napata formed the centre of the administration, were continued by Amenhotep II. as far as his means allowed. The temples of Amada and Koummeh (opposite to Semneh) bear witness to this. If the newly added works within the precincts of the great temple at Ape may be taken as a measure of the power of the government for the time being, Amenhotep II. hardly kept up to the usual standard of his predecessors. The temple erected by him, a hall with two side naves (marked S on Mariette's Plan), is in no respect remarkable, either for the beauty of the building (its comparatively good preservation cannot of course be placed to the king's credit), or for the artistic perfection of the sculptures, or for the importance of its inscriptions.[3]

[3] A tomb at Thebes, of the time of Amenhotep II., is particularly interesting as giving two of the earliest *representations* of chariots and horses on the Egyptian monuments. (The *mention* of them occurs at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the inscription of Aahmes Pen-nukheb, p. 288). One bas-relief shows two chariots preparing for a race; the other a scene of rest, the horses feeding with the groom sitting at their heads, and the

Among his contemporaries we would name in the first place his son Khamus,* and the governor of the nations of the South, a certain Us-sati; as also the high-priest of the goddess Nukheb at Eileithyiapolis, who as such bore the dignified title of a 'first king's son of Nukheb;' Amenhotep, with the surname Hapu, a son of Us-hat and of the chief priest Khamus, the son of the chief priest Amenhotep, the son of the chief priest Thutmes. Besides these, the chief priest of Amon 'of Thutmes III.' at Ape, named Ra, son of the chief priest Aahmes, may be worthy of mention. We leave the other contemporaries of the king—such as the two captains of the army, Amenemhib and Mah (see p. 398)—to rest in peace in their silent tombs, the sculptures of which frequently set before our eyes the rich reward which was given by the king to his generals and officials.[4]

VI. MEN-KHEPRU-RA THUTMES IV., surnamed KHAKHAU. 1533 B.C.

On his memorial tombstone, now in the British Museum, a certain Amenhotep, a true servant and warrior of his lord, Thutmes IV., relates that

'He accompanied the king on his campaigns against the people of the South and of the North, travelling with his Holiness from the river-land of Naharain to the (land of the negroes) Kari (or Kali).

charioteer asleep in his car. The chariots are of a very rude form; the last-mentioned having four spokes in the wheel, the others six. (Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, Plates XXVIII., XXXIX., pp. 296, 297.)—ED.

[4] See *Denkmäler*, iii. 63, a.

We have here a proof that this Thutmes IV. trod in the footsteps of his predecessors, and sought to uphold the greatness and power of the empire by ceaseless conflicts against unruly tribes and subjects. The furthest limits of his campaigns, Naharain in the North, Kali in the South, embracing the wide range of twenty-two degrees of latitude, allow us to form an idea of the unusual activity of the king. Unfortunately no document, giving us information on the details of these campaigns and the unquestionable participation of the king in them, has survived the ravages of time. A fragment in the temple of Amon at Ape mentions 'The first campaign of the king against the land of Kheta.' A rock inscription on the little island of Konosso, in the midst of the boiling floods of the First Cataract of the Nile, bearing as an introduction the date of the year 7, the month Athyr, day 8, relates in the usual unmeaning style how the Libyan deities Didun and He (the local god of the West country) had given the nomad tribes of the Anu and all lands into the power of the king. Another inscription, in the temple of Amada, gives the same sort of general information about victories of the king over the land of Kush and the nomad tribes, and contains, as its only other statement of importance, the assurance that they had been so completely beaten 'that they were no longer (for the time) to be found.'

Thutmes IV. attributed his elevation to the throne to the active protection and aid of the god Hormakhu, if the account of the interference of the divine hand

is not merely a cloak for the intrigues of the king to reach his high aim.

The account referred to is contained in the inscription on the great memorial stone, fourteen feet high, which is placed directly before the breast of the gigantic form of the Sphinx of Gizeh, which cannot now be seen by the visitors to the pyramids, since deep sand has covered the whole lower part of the body of the Sphinx, and with it also this tablet.[5]

At the time when king Thutmes IV. ascended the throne, the space before the pyramids was an already abandoned burial-ground (it is called in the inscriptions *Ro-set*, which means 'door to the under world'), the king of which, Osiris Sokar, was invoked in prayer by the pilgrims to this spot, in his temple, close to the figure of the Sphinx. At the foot of the hill on which the pyramids are raised ran the ancient 'sacred road,' which, turning in an easterly direction, led to the western boundary of the Heliopolitan nome over the hill of Babylon, in the neighbourhood of the present Old Cairo, opposite to Gizeh. The whole long road was accounted an enchanted region, and the Egyptians may have whispered many ghost-stories of apparitions and strange adventures which happened in this neighbourhood. Behind the Sphinx

[5] This granite tablet, attached to the breast of the Sphinx, formed, with two side tablets of limestone (now removed), a sanctuary, to which processions went up along the sacred road between the outstretched forelegs, to offer sacrifices to the symbol of Hormakhu. Bas-reliefs on the tablet represent Thutmes IV. offering incense and a libation to the Sphinx, represented (like the colossal image) with a beard and other attributes of a god.—ED.

and the pyramids began the valleys of the desert, 'the land of gazelles,' in which huntsmen were wont to follow their sport, not without resting a short time under the shadow of the Sphinx. The Sphinx itself,[6] which the inscription calls 'a work of king Khafra,' represented the image of the god HORMAKHU, that is 'Horus on the horizon,'[7] (the Harmachis of the Greek inscriptions),[8] who was called also by the names of *Khepra* ('coming into being,' 'the Sun at midnight'), *Ra* (the Sun in the East), *Tum* (the Sun in the West). Hormakhu seems accordingly to have been the Sun at his midday height.

From these introductory remarks the reader will understand the contents of the stone, which I now give, for the first time, in a faithful translation. The inscription begins:—

[6] Here Thutmes followed an erroneous tradition; for it has been shown that the Sphinx already existed in the time of Khufu, before Khafra. (See Chap. VII. pp. 98, 99.)—ED.

[7] Dr. Brugsch has *Horus im Lichtkreise*, literally 'in (or on) the circle of light,' which we translate, in deference to the practice of Egyptologers, 'on the horizon.' The precise meaning of *Hormakhu* is 'Horus *in his resting-place*'—that is, according to the common view—on the *horizon*, where the Sun *goes to rest*. But may it not rather mean on the *meridian*, where he appears for a time *stationary* at noon (as at the *solstice* in his *annual* course)? This view seems confirmed by what follows in the text.—ED.

[8] Several Greek inscriptions are cut on the paws of the Sphinx. It is in the one by a certain Babillus that the name of *Harmachis* is given to it. The fact that the Sphinx is never mentioned by any author before the Roman age, when Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvi. 17) refers to it as the supposed tomb of Amasis, is a striking caution against the *argumentum ab ignorantiâ*.—ED.

'In the year 1, in the month Athyr, on the 9th day,'

after which follow the names of the king, and laudatory phrases in honour of the new ruler who had just ascended the throne of Egypt. Then it goes on thus, word for word:—

'Once upon a time he practised a spear-throwing for his pleasure on the territory of the Memphian nome, in its southern and northern extent, where he slung brazen bolts at the target, and hunted lions in the valley of the gazelles. He rode on in his two-horsed chariot, and his horses were swifter than the wind. With him were two of his attendants. No man knew them.

'Then was the hour in which he granted rest to his servants. He took advantage of it to present to Hormakhu, near the (temple of) Sokar in the city of the dead, and to the goddess Rannu, an offering of the seeds of the flowers on the heights [and to pray to the great mother Isis, the lady of] the north wall and the lady of the south wall, and to Sokhet of Xoïs, and to Set. For a great enchantment rests on this place from the beginning of time, as far as the districts of the lords of Babylon, the sacred road of the gods to the western horizon of On-Heliopolis, because the form of the Sphinx is a likeness of Khepra, the very great god who abides at this place, the greatest of all spirits, the most venerable being who rests upon it. To him the inhabitants of Memphis and of all towns in his district raise their hands to pray before his countenance, and to offer him rich sacrifices.

'On one of these days it happened, when the king's son Thutmes had arrived on his journey about the time of mid day, and had stretched himself to rest in the shade of this great god, that sleep overtook him.

'He dreamt in his slumber at the moment when the sun was at the zenith, and it seemed to him as though this great god spoke to him with his own mouth, just as a father speaks to his son, addressing him thus:

"'Behold me, look at me, thou, my son Thutmes. I am thy father Hormakhu, Khepra, Ra, Tum. The kingdom shall be given to thee . . . . and thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown on the throne of the earth-god Seb, the youngest (among the gods). The world shall be thine in its length and in

its breadth, as far as the light of the eye of the lord of the universe shines. Plenty and riches shall be thine; the best from the interior of the land, and rich tributes from all nations; long years shall be granted thee as thy term of life. My countenance is gracious towards thee, and my heart clings to thee; [I will give thee] the best of all things.

'"The sand of the district in which I have my existence has covered me up. Promise me that thou wilt do what I wish in my heart; then shall I know whether thou art my son, my helper. Go forward: let me be united to thee. I am . . . ."

'After this [Thutmes awoke, and he repeated all these speeches] and he understood (the meaning) of the words of the god and laid them up in his heart, speaking thus with himself: "I see how the dwellers in the temple of the city honour this god with sacrificial gifts [without thinking of freeing from sand the work of king] Khafra, the statue which was made to Tum-Hormakhu."' . . . . . .

Although the following lines of the inscription are entirely destroyed, yet it is not difficult to guess the conclusion of the narrative.

When Thutmes IV. came to the throne, he thought it incumbent on him, as a holy duty of gratitude, to keep the promise made to Hormakhu; he cleared away the sand and set free the whole gigantic body of the Sphinx. After this had been done, in the very first days of his reign, the memorial stone of the nineteenth of Athyr in the first year of the reign of Thutmes IV. was erected on the spot. One cannot fail to be astonished that such a mighty stone as the great memorial tablet before the breast of the Sphinx relates a story so very simple. The dream of the king, and the laying free the gigantic body of Hormakhu, are apparently of so little importance, that it seems almost a pity to have incurred the cost and labour of erecting the memorial.

The only instructive information in the whole inscription, besides the right understanding of the text, appears to me to lie in the fact, that, in the fourteenth century B.C., the Sphinx lay already as deeply imbedded in the sand as at this day in the nineteenth century after Christ. Lepsius and the Duc de Luynes were obliged to expend a great deal of time and labour, to remove the sand from the huge body. A short time afterwards the ever-rolling sand of the desert had again filled up the deep chasm that had been opened.

Thutmes IV. certainly took some precautions to keep off the streams of sand from the Sphinx, the total length of which exceeds fifty-seven mètres.[9] It lay there exposed, with its face turned towards the east, hiding a temple between its outstretched forefeet, the hinder wall of which formed the great memorial-stone of the king. Thus it was still seen by visitors in Greek antiquity, to judge from the inscriptions which we find upon the spot.[1] As in our days the Bedouins of the neighbouring village of Kafr guide the 'Franks' to the wonders of the pyramid-field of Gizeh, so here in times past the inhabitants of the village of Busiris (in old Egyptian Pi-usiri, that is, 'the city of Osiris,' which belonged to the Letopolitan nome) undertook the business of guides for strangers to what were even then the marvels of high antiquity.

[9] The length is just 190 English feet.—ED.

[1] See the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 4699, and following numbers.

We will here take leave of king Thutmes IV., and turn to his son and successor, the very celebrated king

VIII. MA-NEB-RA AMENHOTEP III., 1500 B.C.,

the son of queen Mut-em-ua, which means 'Mother in the boat.' We shall be charged with no error of judgment in placing the bearer of this name on a level with the great Thutmes, if we may draw a valid conclusion as to the greatness and might of his kingdom from the number and beauty of the monuments he has left behind him, and from the contents of contemporary stone documents which have not entirely disappeared from the soil of Egypt.

Among the stones which, in imitation of the form of a scarabæus, were used as amulets against evil magic and as memorials of great kings of the country, there are not a few which exhibit to us the name of this Pharaoh on the under side. Among these are some of considerable size, covered with inscriptions, which inform us of the extent of the empire under Amenhotep III. On the north the river-land of Naharain, as on the south the land of the negroes, Kari or Kali, formed its boundaries; so that its ancient extent was preserved, and Egypt exercised her supremacy vigorously in the north and in the south. Amenhotep III. appears to have been an ardent sportsman, and to have been trained in the school of his father; at least the memorial scarabæi often inform us how he speared with his own hand, on his hunting expeditions in the land of Naharain,

the great number of 210 lions. Such a statement bears witness alike to the courage and the strength of the king.

Thutmes III., in repeated campaigns, had confronted with the whole weight of his royal power the Canaanitish nations to the north of his great empire: Amenhotep III. chose as his battle-fields the hot countries of Ethiopia, and there he gained laurels such as scarcely any other king of Egyptian history could boast. A rock inscription of the fifth year of this Pharaoh's reign, on the old road which led from Syene to the charming island of Philæ, affords us trustworthy evidence that Amenhotep III. directed his first campaign against the inhabitants of the southern regions.

More than thirty-three centuries have passed over this tablet of victory, and have destroyed or half effaced some of the letters of the inscription; but the ancient splendour of the record of victory shines forth clearly in the portions that have been preserved to us. The following is what we are especially interested to learn:—

'In the 5th year the king returned home. He had triumphed in this year on his first campaign over the miserable land of Kush. He placed his boundary wherever it pleased him.' And then—

'The king ordered that the remembrance of his victories should be preserved on this memorial stone. No other king has done the like, except him, the brave Pharaoh, who trusts in his strength, namely, Amenhotep III.'

Under the inscription there are written in the well-known turretted cartouches the names of six vanquished nations of the South, among them the land of Kush.

The campaigns of the king were continued up the Nile, above the great cataracts of the royal river. Their aim was the subjugation and plunder of the tribes which were hostilely disposed. A memorial tablet, found at Semneh, above the Second Cataract, relates a campaign with details which are not without importance for our knowledge of the land of Nubia in those remote times.

The king was in the land of Abeha, 'which begins at the frontier garrison of Beki, and which ends at the frontier garrison of Tari, a length of 52 miles.'

The land of Abeha, which appears to me to have been the same as the oft-mentioned Behan (the Greek Boôn, and the modern Semneh), lay to the south and north of Semneh, for Beki was evidently a point situated to the north.

Here follows the complete catalogue of the captured negroes, arranged according to their age and sex, as the Egyptians, with their special liking for order and number, were wont to set them forth in their records.

'Catalogue of the prisoners whom the king captured in the land of Abeha :—

Living negroes	150 heads
Boys	110 „
Negresses	250 „
Old negroes	55 „
Their children	175 „
Total of living heads .	740
Number of hands (cut off) . .	312

The total number, together with the living heads, 1,052'

In these campaigns the kings remained true to the old custom of cutting off the hands of the slain foes, and bringing them home as tokens of victory. In no other way could the number of slain enemies be more manifestly proved to the Egyptians who stayed peaceably at home. I myself saw worse than this in Persia, during a war of the Shah-in-Shah against the robber races of the Turkomans. The heads of the slain foes were cut off, salted, and sent packed in cases to the war minister, instead of a written report of the victory. This happened in the interior of Asia, in the year 1861, under the eyes of the European leader of the Persian Serbazes.

Amenhotep III. must have penetrated far into the interior of the Soudan, since the catalogues of his victories over the conquered negro races mention names which are not found again, at any rate as to the majority of them, in the official lists. On the pedestal of the statue of the conqueror Amenhotep, at Paris, the following names are clearly legible:—

Ta-al-ta	Riu-the-the-ka
A-ki-ta	The Mai-ka
. . . ba-li	Ur-ki
A-ri-ka	The Mai-ua
Ma-qui-sa	The Za-kui
Sa-ha-ba	The Ri-ma-ka [2]
Sa-bi-ri	

In the temple of Soleb, high up in Nubia, new names appear of negro races and countries, some of which have a familiar sound. The following is the catalogue, so far as it is preserved:—

[2] The names which have 'The' before them are written in the inscription with 'Pa,' the Egyptian masculine article.

Thar-thar
Tur-su
A-Zanian
Ma-tur

Sa-manir-ka
Kari (the southernmost land)
Maitha-riaa
Ka-tha . . .

Fu-ru-sha
Na-ri-ki-heb
Thar-benika
Thar-sian

Mai
Akenes
. . . man-'a-ri-bo
Matha-Kalhu
Abeha-t (a district near Wady-Halfah)
A-ki-na
Seri-nik
Au-ru-rik

The Su-an-qa
A-ihethap
Ather-maiu
Gurses

It may be presumed that the wars against the gold-producing Kush, the Egyptian California of the sixteenth century before our era, opened new sources of wealth to the empire of the Pharaohs; and this will be actually proved from the stone documents. The 'king's sons of Kush,' who are already well known to us, executed their office as governors of the countries of the South, and collected the tributes which were regularly levied every year. Under the reign of this sovereign we may name the following governors: Merimes, Hi, Amenhotep, and Thutmes. Their names are found on different rocks in the island of Bigeh, in the midst of the First Cataract, in remembrance of the visit of these distinguished officials to the temple of Osiris on the island of Philæ.

Among these lords, the Amenhotep mentioned above occupied a distinguished place not only at the court, but also in the favour of Pharaoh. He was one of the wise men of his time, a prudent and experienced

servant of his lord, to whom, during the long period of his reign, he performed faithful and important services. The Pharaoh accordingly honoured him, and, from feelings of gratitude, dedicated to his memory a special statue, richly decorated with inscriptions full of his praise, which has now its place, in the collections at Boulaq, as an important monument of the time.

The wise Amenhotep, son of Hapu and of the lady A-tu, is introduced as himself speaking in the words of this long inscription. He tells us of his own knowledge and excellence, his services to his contemporaries, and especially his influence with the Pharaoh, who placed him near his person as a skilful and faithful servant, and raised him by threefold gradations to the highest dignity. He recounts to us the course of his life as follows :—

'King Amenhotep III., the eldest son of the god Hormakhu, rewarded me and appointed me as royal under-chief-secretary. I was introduced to the knowledge of the holy book, and beheld the glories of the god Thut. I was enlightened concerning all their mysteries, and all parts of them were laid before me. I was made master of the art of speaking, in all its bearings.

'And a second time my lord the king Amenhotep III. rewarded me, and delivered over to me all the people, and the names of them were placed under my inspection as the royal upper-chief-secretary of the young men. I arranged the families of my lord, and reckoned the number of the tributes by hundreds of thousands. I gave satisfaction to the people in their place of taxing, to the old man, as to the son who loves him.

'I laid the taxes on the houses according to their number. I separated the warriors and their houses. I increased the subjects by the best of the prisoners whom the king had made on the theatre of war. I gave due weight to all their privileges. . . . . .

'I placed warriors at the openings of the roads (of the country)

to keep back the inhabitants of foreign lands in their place, for they were settled round about the two sides of (Egypt), and opened wide their eyes to make inroads upon the districts of the Nemausha (inhabitants of the desert).

'I acted thus at the lake of the Sethroitic mouth of the Nile. The same was closed by my war captains, chosen for the crews of the king's ships. I was their leader, and they were obedient to my orders.

'I was a Ro-hir (lieutenant—an *epitropos* of Greek times) at the head of the bravest warriors, to smite the nations of Nubia and Asia. The thoughts of my lord were continually my care. I penetrated what his mouth concealed, and comprehended his thoughts towards all natives and all foreigners who are about him. It was I also who brought the prisoners from the victories of the king. I was their overseer. I did according to that which he spoke, and took my measures according to that which he prescribed to me. I found that this proved best for the later time.

'And for the third time, my lord, the son, Amenhotep III., the prince of Thebes, rewarded me. He is the Sun-god himself,—may there be accorded to him numerous returns of the thirty years' feast without end!—My lord promoted me to be chief architect. I immortalized the name of the king, and no one has done the like of me in my works, reckoning from earlier times. For him was created the mountain of sandstone; he is indeed the heir of the god Tum. I acted according to what seemed best in my estimation, in causing to be made *two portrait-statues of noble hard stone* in this his great building. It is like heaven. No king who has possessed the land has done the like, since the time of the reign of the Sun-god Ra. Thus I executed these works of art, his statues—(they were astonishing for their breadth, lofty in their perpendicular height: their completed form made the gate-tower look small; 40 cubits was their measure)—in the splendid sandstone mountain,[3] on its two sides, that of Ra and that of Tum (that is, the east and west sides).

'I caused eight ships to be built; they (the statues) were carried up (the river) and placed in his lofty building. They will last as long as the heaven (above them).

[3] Perhaps the quarries of Silsilis are here meant, which in fact lay on the east and west sides of the river, and contain inscriptions referring to these works.

'I declare to you who shall come hither after us, that of the people who were assembled for the building every one was under me. They were full of ardour; their heart was moved with joy; they raised a shout and praised the gracious god. Their landing in Thebes was a joyful event. The monuments were raised in their future place.'

We must not fail here to inform our readers that the statues of the king, 40 cubits high (that is, 21 mètres, or nearly 69 English feet), mentioned in the inscription, are the two celebrated statues of 'Memnon,' about which we shall speak presently. The measure assigned to them agrees with modern measurements,[4] and so does the description of their size, which must have made the gate-tower (propylon) which stood behind them look small. Thus, thanks to a peculiar ordering of destiny, which has preserved to us his own statue, we now know the noble lord and master, who conceived the plan of this double

[4] According to actual measurement, the height of the sitting figures from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet, is 14·28 mètres (about 47 ft.), not counting the destroyed head-dress. The pedestal has a height of 4·25 mètres (about 14 ft.). The whole height of the statues, with the pedestal, was therefore 18·53 mètres (about 61 ft.). According to the above inscription, which gives the whole a height of 21 mètres (69 ft.), the head-dress must be reckoned at 2·47 mètres (about 8 ft.), which answers exactly to the height of a so-called pshent crown.—[In this calculation, as in former cases, Brugsch uses the *royal cubit* of 20·7 in. The ordinary cubit of 18·2415 (nearly 18¼) in. gives as the equivalent of the 40 cubits of the inscription 61 ft., the *actual height*. The difference is made up by the *supposed* crown. The colossus mentioned below (p. 482 note) does not wear the pshent crown; and, what is still more to the purpose, a statue in the British Museum, which appears to be a copy of the 'Memnon,' has, not the pshent, but the close-fitting cap with the uræus in front, like the famous colossal head of Ramses II., also in our Museum.—ED.]

gigantic work, the size and extent of which has excited the greatest astonishment and the unqualified admiration of the ancients as well as the moderns. It was the head architect, Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, who had the skill to cut them out, as well as the materials for the temple, in the sandstone quarries of Silsilis.

Amenhotep III. was, like his grandfather Thutmes III., a zealous worshipper of the gods, especially of Amon, and he made use of the long period of his reign to erect temples in honour of the divinities in all parts of the land. In the very first years of his rule, new quarries were opened in the limestone hills of Mokattam, opposite the old imperial city of Memphis. In the neighbourhood of the village of Tourah (the old Egyptian Ta-ru-fu, the Troja of the ancients) the new rock-chambers were opened in the king's first and second year, and two inscriptions were set up to transmit the fact to the remembrance of contemporaries and of posterity.

'The king gave orders to open new chambers, in order to quarry the beautiful white stone of 'An, for the building of a lasting temple, after the king had learnt that the rock-chambers, which are situated in Ro-fu, had long since threatened to fall in.

'These were made anew by the king.'

The buildings at the imperial temple of Ape (Karnak) were not only carried on, but a new temple also was erected. Before the west front of the proper temple of Amon, so far as it had then been completed, Amenhotep III. raised an immense gate-tower (propylon), erected a new temple of Amon to the north, and built another on the south to the divine

mother Mut, near the holy temple-lake of Asher,[5] and he united the whole quarter of the temples of Karnak with the new temple of Amon at Luqsor by an avenue (dromos) of sphinxes with the bodies of couchant rams, with the sun's disk on their heads. For this building also, the majestic ruins of which to this day attract the delighted eyes of admiring travellers, is an old work of the times of king Amenhotep III.

According to the numerous inscriptions which cover the smooth surfaces of the stone lintels, this building, close to the river, was erected in honour of the god Amon after the victorious campaigns against the negroes of Kush, when

'The king had mounted his horse to reach the extremest boundaries of the negroes, and had scattered the people of Kush, and laid waste their country.' Pharaoh himself 'gave instructions and directions, for he understood how to direct and guide the architects.'

And when he had finished this building, he could with justice say for himself that

'He had executed great monuments in Ape of the South, wonderful works never seen before, and he had increased and extended Ape of the South.'

On the further bank of the river, in a north-easterly direction from the temple of Thutmes III. at Medinet Abou, a new temple to the god Amon was raised by the king's command. Its site is indicated from a great distance by the gigantic sitting statues of the king, the fame of which the ancients spread over the

[5] The sitting statues of Mut with lions' heads (as emblems of Sokhet), which have been found in the ruins, for the most part bear the name of the founder, Amenhotep III.

whole world, under the name of the statues of Memnon. Although little more than the foundation walls of the temple itself are left, yet a memorial tablet, which now lies thrown down on its back, bears witness to the size and importance of the original building. The inscription which adorns its surface is in the form of a dialogue between the king and the god. First the king, Amenhotep III., speaks thus:—

'Come then, Amon-Ra, lord of Thebes in Ape, behold thy abode, which is prepared for thee on the great place of Us (Thebes). Its splendour rests on the western part (of the city). Thou passest through the heaven to unite thyself with it (the abode, i.e. the temple). And thou risest on the horizon (in the east); then is it enlightened by the golden beams of thy countenance. Its front turns towards the east, &c.

'Thy glory dwells in it. I have not let it want for excellent works of durable beautiful white stone. I have filled it with monuments in my [name], from the mountain of admirable stone. Those who behold them in their place are full of great joy on account of their size.

'And likewise I built a court on the rocky soil, of alabaster, rose granite, and black stone. Also I made a double gate-tower, labouring to dedicate the most beautiful thing to my divine father. Statues of the gods are to be seen everywhere. They are carved in all their [parts?]. A great statue was made, of gold and all kinds of beautiful precious stones. I gave directions to execute what pleased thee well, to unite thee with its beautiful dwelling-places.'

In this tone the king sings his own praises to the god, until the latter interrupts him at the conclusion with the assurance:—

'I hear what thou sayest. I have beheld thy memorial, I thy father who have created thy glory, &c.

'Excellent is that which thou hast prepared for me; never has the like been done for me.'

The temple now in ruins was carried out according to the plan of the chief architect Amenhotep, the same who boasts of having designed the two gigantic statues of the king in front of it. These rise, at the present day, like two solitary watchers, with the heaps of ruins behind them, on the cultivated Theban plain, and are reached every year by the water of the inundation, which often moistens their rigid feet.

The two statues—which represent king Amenhotep III. in a sitting posture, having at their feet small sitting statues of his wife, Thi,[6] and of his mother, Mut-em-ua—were carved each out of a single block of a firm red-brown sandstone, mixed with pieces of white quartz, and are in fact marvellous as regards the treatment of one of the hardest and most brittle of materials. They stand at a distance of twenty-two feet from one another. The northern one is that which the Greeks and Romans celebrated in poetry and prose by the name of the *Vocal Statue of Memnon*. Its legs are covered with the inscriptions of Greek, Roman, Phœnician, and Egyptian travellers, written to assure the reader that they had really visited the place, or that they had heard the musical tones of Memnon at the rising of the sun.

In the year 27 B.C., in consequence of an earthquake, the whole of the upper part of the statue was removed from its place and thrown to the ground. From that time the tourists of antiquity began to im-

[6] Respecting queen Thi, and the very interesting question connected with her, see p. 490.—ED.

mortalize themselves by scratching their names, and adding pertinent or impertinent remarks. The assurances that they had heard Memnon sing, or rather ring (or tinkle), end under the reign of the Emperor Septimius Severus, who completed as well as he could the wanting upper part of the body with blocks of stone piled up and fastened together. It is a well-known fact, of which that immortal master of science, Alexander von Humboldt, often personally assured me, that split or cracked rocks, or stone walls, after cooling during the night, emit at sunrise, as soon as the stone becomes warmed, a prolonged ringing (or tinkling) note. The sudden change of temperature creates quick currents of air, which press through the crevices of the rock, and produce that peculiar melancholy singing tone. When, in the year 1851, I chose as my dwelling for some months the temple of Ape, to the west of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, I heard of a morning, after the sun had been some time up in the heaven, from a side chamber warmed by it, a melancholy note like that of the vocal Memnon. The fact was so well known to the Arabs who lived there, that they showed me this very chamber as that where the death-watch ticked. After the statue of Memnon had been restored in the manner I have described, the sound naturally ceased of itself. The crack in the sandstone was covered by the masonry which was built up over it.[7]

[7] This explanation of the sounds issuing from the vocal Memnon was first put forth by Sir David Brewster in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 88, February 1831, in a review of Herschel's *Treatise on Sound*, before its suggestion by Letronne and Humboldt; and

The historical legend of the vocal Memnon is thus seen to be a very modern story, of which the old Egyptians knew nothing. The song of Memnon, however poetically beautiful as a fancy of antiquity, must be once for all struck out of the history of Egypt. In its place the dry narrative of the Greek historian Pausanias appears as the correct one, according to which the statue belonged to a man of the country, by name Phamenoph, that is, 'Amenhotep.'[8] We now know this Amenhotep as the king of that name, the Memnon of the Greek fable in spite of himself.

The architect Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who had the ability to execute so great a work, deserves all the more the honour of having his name perpetuated, as he independently, and without any order

it is undoubtedly the correct explanation, notwithstanding Sir Gardner Wilkinson's discovery of a stone in the lap of the statue, which gives forth a ringing sound on being struck. Many such stones exist (witness the 'rock harmonium'), and the presence of this one may be a mere coincidence. A *possible* cause of a phenomenon is not therefore its *actual* cause. It is hard to see how the priests could have played the trick without detection by the many inquisitive travellers, and, if the stone had been placed there to be so used, the vocal Memnon would have been in full play during the whole period of its glory. The decisive argument is, that the sound is never recorded as being heard before the statue was broken, nor after its repair. The present writer has heard notes sounding from a stone wall heated by the early morning sun, and from earthen vessels containing boiling water; and in one recent instance (as a curious parallel to Brugsch's experience) exactly like the ticking of a watch. A full account of the vocal Memnon, and the attesting inscriptions, is given in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 276, April 1875, vol. cxxxviii. pp. 529, ff.—Ed.

[8] Pausan. i. 42, § 2; comp. Callistrat. *Imag.* i. 9.—Ed.

from the king, conceived so magnificent a design and carried it out successfully. It was not only necessary to hew out the stone from the rocks and work it, but also to entrust the vast weight to the Nile, and to convey it from the Theban river-bank to its proper position. He was obliged, as he himself tells us, to build eight ships, in order to carry the burthen of these gigantic statues. Even in our highly cultivated age, with all its inventions and machines, which enable us by the help of steam to raise and transport the heaviest weights, the shipment and erection of the statues of Memnon remain an insoluble riddle.[9] Verily Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, must have been not only a wise, but a specially ingenious man of his time.

He came of an ancient and noble stock. His father, Hapu, surnamed Amenhotep, was a son of Khamus, a contemporary of the third Thutmes, who belonged to the priestly family, of which we have spoken previously (at page 461), the eldest sons of which bore the title of honour of 'king's sons.' His

[9] The transport of these huge monoliths from the quarries of Syene to the Plain of Thebes might have seemed hardly credible; but, besides the not unfrequent records of such operations in the inscriptions, good fortune has preserved to us a bas-relief of the much earlier age of Usurtasen II. (in a grotto behind E'Dayr, near El-Bersheh) representing a seated colossus dragged along on a sledge by 172 men in four rows, attended by troops of soldiers, and directed by an overseer who stands on the knees of the statue. Even the process of lubricating the rollers is shown. The representation (described and engraved in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 303–305, 2nd ed.) was lately transferred to a powerful picture by Mr. Poynter, R.A.—ED.

wisdom and his sayings were remembered even in the times of the Ptolemies, as we shall presently have occasion to prove.

Amenhotep the wise, with the surname of Hui, had himself founded a temple behind the sanctuary of his king, Amenhotep III., not far from the road to the tombs of the king's daughters and the royal ladies, nearly at the foot of the hill of the dead, in the caverns of which are the general graves of the ancient inhabitants of Thebes. The district bore the appellation of Kak, and hence the newly founded temple was called Ha-Kak, 'the temple of Kak.' A remarkable memorial stone has preserved to us the following document concerning it:[1]—

'In the year 11, on the 6th day of the month Khoiakh, in the reign of king Amenhotep III.

'On this day the king was in the temple of Kak (2) of the hereditary lord and royal secretary, Amenhotep. There were brought before him the governor of the town, Amenhotep, the treasurer, Meriptah, and the royal secretary of the garrison. These words were spoken to them in the presence (3) of the king: Good luck to you! You have understood the orders which have been given for the administration of the temple of Kak of the hereditary lord Amenhotep, called Hui, son of Hap, whose virtues are well known; (4) that his temple of Kak should remain secure to his sons and daughters for all time, from son to son, from heir to heir, and that they should never take away the same, because it (the temple) is founded by Amon-Ra, the king of the gods in his time on the earth. (5) Being king in eternity, it is he who protects the dead. Those chiefs of the garrison and secretaries of the garrison who come after me, who shall find that the temple of Kak is hastening to destruction, together with (6) the man-

[1] See my essay upon this inscription in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 133.

servants and maid-servants who are on the flower-knob of my staff,[2] and that people are taken from them; he shall give up the whole place to Pharaoh, together with the whole administration. His body will be satisfied. If he, however, (7) [allows] them to be taken away, so that he does not fulfil their intention, he shall incur the judgment of the Theban god Amon, who will not allow that such should enjoy their dignities as royal secretaries of the garrison, which they have received through him (?); (8) but he will deliver them over to the fire of Satan in the day of his wrath, and his serpent-diadem will spit out flames of fire on their head, annihilating their limbs; it will consume their bodies. They shall become like the hellish snake Apophis on the morning of the new year; they shall be overwhelmed in the great flood. (9) He will hide their corpses, and they shall not receive the reward of righteousness; they shall not partake of the feasts of the blessed; the water from the spring of the river shall not refresh them; it shall not come to pass that their posterity should sit in their place. Their wives shall be brought to shame, (10) and their eyes shall see it;[3] the great shall not enter their house, so long as they live on earth. They shall not enter nor be brought into the house of Pharaoh. They shall not hear the words of the king in the hour of joyfulness. (11) They shall be cut down . . . . . in the day of battle, and they shall be called a serpent brood. Their bodies shall languish away. They shall starve, wanting bread, and their bodies shall languish and die. The governor, the treasurer, the guardian of the temple, the steward of the corn, (12) the high-priests, the holy fathers, and the priests of Amon, to whom these words shall be read over, which are composed with regard to the temple of Kak of the hereditary lord and royal secretary Amenhotep, son of Hap, if they should not be protectors (13) of his temple of Kak; may these words smite them, them the first of all. But if they prove themselves protectors of the temple of Kak, including also the man-servants and maid-servants that are on the flower-knob of my staff, all the best

[2] A Pharaonic mode of speech, which is as much as to say, 'As I lay my hand on the knob of my staff, so will I lay my hand for protection on the head of a particular person.' [Comp. Gen. xlvii. 31, as quoted in Heb. xi. 21.—ED.]

[3] Comp. 2 Sam. xii. 11.—ED.

prosperity will attend them. Amonra, the king of the gods, will reward them with a happy life. Your end [. . . . .] king of your land (15) like his end. Your claims to honour upon honour shall be doubled. You shall receive son after son, heir after heir, who shall be sent on employments, whom the king of [your] land will reward; your [. . . . .]. Your bodies (16) shall rest in the under-world of Amenti, after a course of life of 110 years.[4] The sacrificial gifts shall be multiplied to you, (and so forth) . . . . . .

'(17) With regard to the captains of the town watchmen, who belong to the nome, and (with regard) to the governor of the West country, namely, the quarter of the town called Kheft-hir-nib-s, who do not join my staff for that day, including my festival on every month, these words shall smite them, and they shall do penance for it (18) with their bodies. But if they obey all the words which are contained in this order, by following (my) will, they shall not be deserted, they shall remain good and righteous, (19) they shall be buried in the graves of the dead full of years and old age. In explanation: with regard to the governor of the West country, he enters into the number of my own servants from this day forth.'

The temple, whose maintenance was assured by royal command in a manner of which we have such full documentary evidence, fell into decay in the course of time. It was not again restored till under the Ptolemies, and was dedicated to Amon and Hathor as the tutelar deities; and the wise Amenhotep, surnamed Hui, the son of Hapu, received in the bas-reliefs and inscriptions his place of honour among the deities of the place. What the wise god of learning, Imhotep (called Imuthes by the Greeks), the son of Ptah, was for Memphis, Amenhotep was henceforth for the Thebans down to the latest times.

[4] The coincidence is noteworthy, that this oft-mentioned Egyptian standard of a good old age is exactly that attained by the patriarch Joseph (Gen. l. 26).—ED.

Der-el-Medineh (as the Arabs of our day call the spot) was a place of pilgrimage for the mourning visitors to the Theban Necropolis.

We have already spoken of the temple on the island of Elephantine, which Amenhotep III. finished and adorned; as also of the temple of Soleb, in which the king dedicated 'to his own image on earth' a place of worship and prayer. A special shrine called 'The temple-garrison of Kha-m-ma'a,' with a propylon and ram-sphinxes before it, and surrounded by walls and battlements, was founded by the king, far up in the south, at the foot of Mount Barkal. We pass over a number of various remains, which prove the architectural activity of Amenhotep in other parts of Egypt, as, for example, at El-Kab and in Nubia, and only add, that all these remains bear witness to the perfection of the artistic execution which both architects and sculptors exhibited in their works at the court of the king.

In the time of the same king plenty and riches must have surrounded the Pharaoh, for he lavished gifts in a royal manner upon the temples, the priests, and his court officials and subjects. Amon especially, the god of the empire, had no cause to complain of the niggard hand of his beloved son. A record of his gifts, preserved (unfortunately only in ruins!) at Karnak, exhibited to the eyes of the whole world the generosity of the king.[1] It teaches us the way in which he bestowed the taxes and tributes of foreign kings for the benefit of the temple.

[1] The document is published in Mariette's *Karnak*, Table 34.

No less than 4,820 lbs. of blue stone, 3,623 lbs. of khenti, innumerable masses of gold, silver, and copper, and even a great number of wild lions, appear as his gifts to the temple, not to mention the increased sacrifices and alms.

The thirtieth year of his reign, the festive completion of the first thirty years' jubilee, seems to have been especially propitious for the country. The representations and inscriptions in the sepulchral chamber of the noble hereditary lord Khamhat, who held the office of vizier under Amenhotep III., furnish us with a vivid picture of this period of his life.

The king sits enthroned on his chair.

'Pharaoh appears on his exalted throne, to receive the catalogues of tributes from the South and North.'

His faithful servant Khamhat, in a respectful attitude, reads over to the king the numbers in their order, as follows:—

'The reading over of the catalogues of the tributes of the thirtieth year before the king, according to the taxing of the full Nile on the festival of the thirtieth year. The king [receives the tributes] from the overseers of the houses of Pharaoh, together with the [taxes of the hostile nations], from the South and from the North, and from this miserable land of Kush to the region of the river-land Naharain.'

But the king does not only receive; he also gives. This reverse of the picture shows us, with the same liveliness of conception and execution, a crowd of people assembled before Pharaoh. The king sits upon his throne; by his side, bowing down reverently, stands Khamhat. The people greet and congratulate the king, some lying prostrate, others bowing before

him and stretching out their hands to him in the attitude of worship. To the faithful subjects, who have punctually paid their taxes in the holy thirtieth year, the customary necklaces are handed by the courtiers of the king, instead of our badges of honour on coloured riband. There is great joy in the house of Kemi. The picture we have described is explained no less clearly by the inscription, which runs as follows:—

'These are the rewards which are granted to the overseers of the houses of Pharaoh and the tax-payers of Upper and Lower Egypt, because when the overseer of the granaries (of course belonging to Pharaoh) had spoken one word to them, they gave more than the amount of their taxes for the thirtieth year.'[6]

With this agreeable picture of tax-payers giving of their own free will—a good example for our reluctance in the present age—the record concludes. Each goes away contented to his home, and says—in the words above the enthroned Pharaoh:—

'The king has shown himself upon his throne. The tax-payers of the South and North of Egypt have been rewarded.'

Much more might still be related concerning the Pharaoh Amenhotep III. and his contemporaries, for the monuments of his time are eloquent, and divulge much. Even the old potsherds open their long-closed

[6] An intaglio sculpture in the tombs near Tel-el-Amarna, representing a similar distribution of collars and other ornaments by this king's son and successor, is engraved in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 40, plate iii. 2nd ed. Mr. Villiers Stuart gives an engraving of a similar scene still more vividly portrayed in a bas-relief on a tomb discovered by himself at Thebes (*Nile Gleanings*, Plate V. p. 82).—ED.

mouth, to disclose to us many things of a troublous nature, with an historical background. In proof of this, here is a statement imprinted with a dark pencil on the two sides of an old potsherd :—

'Let a report be made of all thefts which the workpeople of Nekhuemmut have committed. They smuggled themselves into the house; they stole the . . . and spilt the oil; they opened the corn-chest which contained spelt, and stole the lead at the mouth of the fountain. They went into the bake-house (?) and stole the provision of stale bread, and spilt the lamp-oil,—*on the 13th day of the month Epiphi, on the coronation-day of king Amenhotep.*'

As if such a theft had not been enough, the back of the potsherd continues, in the same strain :—

'They went into the store-room and stole three long loaves; eight ornaments . . . . . they drew (or rather, they sucked) the beer from the skin which lay on the water, while I was in the house of my father. Will my lord cause that [justice be done] me?'

And all this happened on the coronation-day of Pharaoh, the date of which would otherwise, without this little potsherd, have remained probably for ever unknown to us.

Amenhotep III. must have reigned more than thirty-five years. At least the two rock-inscriptions at Sarbut-el-khadem, in the peninsula of Sinai, bear witness to the fact, that in the month Mekhir of the thirty-sixth year of his reign a courtier fulfilled a commission of the king, in connection with the obtaining of the 'green stone' called mafka. This was not done without his testifying on the wall of rock, in the name of Pharaoh, the usual reverence for the local deities, Supt and Hathor. An inscription of a stone-mason

in the sandstone quarries of Silsilis dates from the 1st of Pakhons of the previous year, 35.

A peculiar fate seems to have presided over this king's nuptial relations. He did not seek his queen from among the fair princesses and heiresses of his house, but, following a strong inclination of his heart and a singular direction of his taste, he chose for his future wife a damsel not of royal race, the daughter of a certain Juao and his wife Thuao. This was the queen Thi, who appears so frequently on the monuments of the time beside the portraits of the king,—the darling wife of the Pharaoh, to whom he was attached with a tender affection during all his life. Of what race she was is a puzzling question, to which we cannot find a clue from the rhyming names of her parents, whose home must have been far from the land of Egypt. Did they belong to a Semitic nation? Had Amenhotep III., the Egyptian Nimrod, become acquainted with and married the young maiden on one of his hunting or warlike expeditions in the South? Who can now say, as the monuments persistently refuse all information on the subject? Yet on the answering of this question depends the solution of a riddle, which comprehends the following reign within its compass.[7]

[7] Mr. Villiers Stuart gives two fine coloured portraits of queen Thi (or Ta-i-ti) from the royal tombs at Thebes, identified by the same cartouche which is inscribed over her head in the colossal 'Memnon' group, and which is also seen in the Table of Genealogies at El-Kab. (*Nile Gleanings*, Plates XX., XXI., pp. 244, 250.) One thing is clear: the beautiful face of queen Thi in these portraits shows not the slightest resemblance to the very marked

Amenhotep III. left behind him several children, some of whose names are preserved by the monuments. We give the following, as determined by Lepsius:—his sons Amenhotep and Thutmes, and his daughters Isis, Hont-mi-hib, and Satamon: the last-named was the wife of one of the following kings.

When his royal father died, the throne was ascended by

IX. NOFER-KHEPER-RA UA-EN-RA AMENHOTEP IV., 1466 B.C.,

'the long-lived prince of Thebes,' or, according to the new name he afterwards adopted, KHU-N-ATEN.

The descent of this king, as the son of Thi, from a house which was neither royal nor Egyptian, precluded him, according to the existing prescriptions regarding the succession, from any lawful claim to the throne. His deceased father had, by his misalliance, passed over the hereditary princesses of the royal race; and the son of the unfortunate marriage had to pay the penalty of his father's fault. In the eyes of the priestly corporation of the imperial temple at Thebes, who jealously watched over the letter of

and strange features of Khunaten, her alleged son. In queen Thi's own tomb, the most perfect and most richly-painted of the tombs of the queens at Thebes, prepared of course under her own direction, this very queen, who is supposed to have trained Amenhotep IV. in the new doctrine, and to have been the chief author of the foreign worship, is represented as devoutly adoring the gods of Egypt. Her son, who is depicted making offerings to his mother's memory, does not at all resemble the portraits of Khunaten. (*Ibid.* p. 250.) As for any likeness between Khunaten and Amenhotep III., let the reader only compare their portraits as given by Mr. Villiers Stuart (pp. 78, 79).—ED.

the law regarding the succession to the throne, the young king was an unlawful ruler, whose buildings in honour of the great Amon of Thebes could not mollify the excited feelings of the holy fathers and their dependents. To increase existing difficulties, a circumstance was added, which was alone sufficient to cause the excommunication of the new ruler. This was the aversion of Amenhotep IV., which is testified by the monuments, to the worship of the greatly venerated god of the empire, Amon, and of his fellow-gods, as it had been faithfully handed down to the heirs of the throne from age to age, by law and teaching and education. In the house of his mother Thi, the daughter of the foreigner, beloved by his father, hated by the priests, the young prince had willingly received the teaching about the one God of Light; and what the mouth of his mother had earnestly impressed upon his childish mind in tender youth became a firm faith when he arrived at man's estate. The king was so little prepared to renounce the new 'doctrine,' that he designated himself within the royal cartouche itself as 'a high-priest of Hormakhu' and 'a friend of the sun's disk,' Mi-aten. Such a heresy, in the orthodox city of Amon, with its world of temples, appeared at once a thing unheard of; and open hate soon took the place of the aversion which had existed from the first. It was the great misfortune of the king himself, that his outward appearance betrayed, in a very unpleasing manner, his descent from his foreign mother. The soft womanish traits of his countenance, with a strongly advancing chin, the

long thin neck, the attenuated legs which supported his body, involuntarily reminded men of the foreign peculiarities which nature had stamped upon him, and which to this day in Egypt, especially in the case of the Galla negroes, above all if they are eunuchs, constitute the most marked features of the black race.[8]

[8] These characteristics are shown in the picture mentioned above, and in all the other portraits of Khunaten, so strongly that, even where his monuments have been defaced, they are still visible in the remaining outlines of the battered bas-relief. This is very strikingly the case in the tomb at Thebes recently discovered by Mr. Villiers Stuart (*Nile Gleanings*, pp. 80, 299–301),—a discovery which supplies a new key to the curious historical problem before us. Here *both* Amenhotep IV. and Khunaten are represented in separate bas-reliefs, on the left and right of the entrance, each surmounted by his own cartouche. Amenhotep IV. appears with the features of his race, quite unlike those of Khunaten, and the cartouches of the former are perfect while those of the latter are destroyed—a fact hard to explain if they were one and the same person. In short, the identity hitherto accepted seems very strongly brought into question by this discovery and other evidence, for which we must be content here to refer to the work of Mr. Villiers Stuart. His theory is 'that Khu-n-Aten was a foreigner who held some office at the court of Amunoph (Amenhotep) IV., and that he married his master's daughter, and eventually reigned in her right; that on first coming to the throne he adopted his father-in-law's oval, and called himself Amunoph (Amenhotep) as a matter of policy, but eventually dropped that name for the one he is best known by.' (*Ibid.* p. 81.) Mr. Stuart regards the vulture-and-uræus-crown on the head of his queen (in the picture mentioned above) as a sign that she was *queen by hereditary right*, a right transmitted to three of her daughters, whose husbands reigned in succession. This right appears emphatically asserted in the identical inscription over the heads of two of the daughters, Meri-Aten and Makt-Aten, in the picture already cited, in the tomb east of Tel-el-Amarna:—'Royal daughter of her very body, Meri-Aten, sprung from the queen, lady of the two lands, Nofre-nofrou-nofre-ti-tai-Aten'—without any recognition of their father. (*Ibid.* p. 73.)—ED.

Thus angry blood was roused on both sides. To fill up the measure of hatred against the caste of the priests of Amon, and to give it public expression, the king issued the command to obliterate the names of Amon and of his wife Mut from the monuments of his royal ancestors. Hammer and chisel were put in active requisition on the engraved stones, and the scribes of the royal court sought out with great care the places, even to the proper names of his forefathers, in which the word Amon met the reader's eye.

The disaffection of the priests and the people had now reached its highest point, and open rebellion broke out against the heretic king, who, ashamed of his honourable name of Amenhotep, had assumed the new name Khu-n-Aten, that is 'splendour of the 'sun's disk,' by which we must henceforward designate him.

Under the conviction that he could no longer remain in the city of Amon, the king determined to turn his back on the cradle of his ancestors, and to found a new capital, which he called Khu-aten, far from Memphis and Thebes, at a place in Middle Egypt, which at this day bears the name of Tel-el-Amarna.

Artists, overseers, and workmen were called together, and in hot haste erected, according to the plans of the king, a splendid temple of hard stone, in honour of the Sun-God Aten, composed of many buildings, with open courts, in which fire-altars were set up. The plan of the great building was new, with little of the Egyptian character, and arranged in a

peculiar manner. But such was the pleasure of the king, and the architect was obedient, and bowed himself to the will of his all-powerful lord. The dwelling also of the king and of the queen Nofer-it Thi,[9] and the abodes for her children—a garland of seven young princesses, Mi-aten, Mak-aten, Ankh-nes-aten, Nofru-aten, Ta-shera, Nofru-ra, Sotep-en-ra, and Bek-aten—and for his sister-in-law, Notem-Mut, were executed in great splendour near the temple of the Sun, and suitable buildings were added to those already mentioned, for the use of the court and its servants.

The city was richly adorned with monuments, traces of which, in spite of their later wholesale destruction, are clearly enough preserved in the heaps of *débris*. The most important works of art were made of granite, which the king obtained from the quarries of Syene in the 'Red Mountain' and brought down the Nile to the place now called Tel-el-Amarna. The office of architect there was held by an Egyptian named Bek, a son of 'the overseer of the sculptors from life, Men, and of the lady Ri-n-an.' Men, a son of Hor-amu, had already served in his office under king Amenhotep III., as 'overseer of the sculptors from life[1] in the red mountain,' and as 'overseer of

[9] Or, in the fuller form, with the characteristic addition, *Nofer-it-Thi-Aten*. Mr. Villiers Stuart mentions a sculpture in which she is represented 'with terrible fidelity' in the last stage of consumption. (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 74.)—ED.

[1] The Egyptian word for this, *s'ankh*, means literally 'the vivifier,' 'the giver of life.' In the tombs of Tel-el-Amarna the same word appears near the figures of two sculptors, who are carving an arm and a head in stone. (See *Denkmäler*, iii. 100 a.)

the sculptors from life for the grand monuments of the king.'

The works of Bek (the third in this generation of artists) for the new city of the Sun are most clearly proved by the following inscription, in which Bek bears the title of

'An overseer of the works at the red mountain, an artist and teacher of the king himself, an overseer of the sculptors from life at the grand monuments of the king for the temple of the sun's disk in the city of Khu-aten.' [2]

We have thus gained the names of a new family of artists, which we make known to posterity in thankful remembrance for their works, true to the injunction of the monuments, to preserve the works of those times for the remembrance of the latest generations. The tombstone of the artist Bek was put up for sale some years ago in the open market-place at Cairo. My respected friend, Mr. L. Vassalli, bought it, and was good enough to give me an exact drawing of the carving upon it and paper rubbings of the inscriptions.

The stone is half a mètre, or about 19·7 inches, high. Inside a niche are seen two little standing images of a man and a woman. The inscription runs :—

(On the right hand)—'A royal sacrifice to Hormakhu, the Sun's disk, who enlightens the land; that he may vouchsafe to accept the customary offerings of the dead on the altar of the living sun's

[2] I am indebted for a knowledge of this inscription to M. Mariette-Bey, who discovered it on a rock near the town of Assouan (Syene).

disk, in favour of the overseer of the sculptors from life, and of his wife, the lady Ta-hir.

(On the left)—'A royal offering to the living Sun's disk, which enlightens the world by its benefactions, in order that it may vouchsafe a complete good life, united with the reward of honour, joy of heart, and a beautiful old age, in favour of the artist of the king, the sculptor of the lord of the land, the follower of the divine benefactor, Bek.'

Underneath, and still in continuation of the words 'that he may vouchsafe,' is added :—

'The inhaling of the holy incense, the receiving of the unction in favour of the artist of the king, the overseer of the sculptors, Bek : The inhaling of the fragrance of the incense in favour of the overseer of the works of the lord of the land, Bek :

'That *thy soul may appear, that thy body may live, that thy foot may march out to all places*, in favour of the artist of the king, and overseer of the sculptors, Bek :

'That "*he may grant me to drink wine and milk*," and that "*the king may receive the sacrifice of the dead*," in favour of the lady Ta-hir.'

The phrases marked by italics are the beginnings of very ancient prayers for the dead, which were frequently used in the offerings for the dead, and were also quoted as titles at the commencement of similar inscriptions.

The genealogical tree of this family of artists comes out as follows:—

Hor-amu
|
Men=Rinan* (under Amenhotep III.)
|
Bek=Tahir* (under Amenhotep IV.)

Another master, who did not hold such a high office as Bek, has not been passed over, as a promoter

* As in previous genealogies, the names of women are distinguished by *.

of his art, in the rich pictorial decorations of the tombs at Tel-el-Amarna. He there exhibits himself, in one picture especially, in the very act of giving the last strokes of the chisel to a statue of the princess Bek-en-aten, which is just finished. This person is 'the overseer of the sculptors of the queen Thi, by name Putha.' Under his supervision two artists are carving, the one a head, the other an arm, from life. And, in fact, if we are to believe the representations we have mentioned in the tombs behind Tel-el-Amarna, the temple of the Sun was almost overladen with the pictures of the king, his wife, and his daughters. The sculptors had to labour hard, and each had quite as much as he could do with his own task.

Near the quarry of Assouan, which furnished the artist with rose and black granite, lay the cliffs of Silsilis, on each side of the river, from which the hard brown sandstone was obtained for the works of architecture and sculpture, under the rule of Khunaten. An inscribed stone, remarkable in many ways, has authentically established this fact. After the names and titles of the king we read, word for word, as follows:—

'And for the first time the king gave the command to . . . . . to call together all the masons, from the island of Elephantiné to the town of Samud (a special name for Migdol in Lower Egypt), and the chiefs and the leaders of the people, to open a great quarry of the hard stone for the erection of the great obelisk of Hormakhu, by his name as the god of light, who is (worshipped) as the Sun's disk in Thebes. Then the great and noble lords and the chiefs of the fan-bearers became overseers of the cutting and shipping of the stone.'

In this ambiguous inscription, as I might almost

call it, the singular fact is revealed to us, that Khun-aten, as Amenhotep IV., had formed the intention of erecting, at first *in Thebes*, a splendid building, in the form of a gigantic pyramid, of the sandstone of Silsilis, in honour of his god of light, Hormakhu. The whole country was summoned for this severe labour, and the noblest lords, even those enjoying the high official rank of fan-bearers, were obliged to perform their very subordinate part as simple overseers of the cutting and shipping of the stone.

Khun-aten had certainly devised this humiliation for the Theban lords with all forethought and of set purpose. But assuredly the king never thought that his design would one day obtain such an ambiguous immortality on stone. The whole inscription displays a tone of extreme bitterness, leading after ages to form an unfavourable opinion of Khun-aten.

In the meantime the building of the new city was finished. In the midst stood the great temple of the Sun. It lay not far from the Nile,[3] on the eastern side of the river, in a great plain very like the Theban plain on the west side of the river. In the background towards the east rises a steep mountain, while on the north and south of the city, like an encompassing wall, stand two ranges of hills, reaching

[3] The ruins of Khunaten's new capital, lying for two miles along the margin of the desert, but of little breadth, are the most extensive in Egypt, after those of Thebes. Amidst the ruthless destruction of its temples and palaces, many of the crude-brick dwellings have been comparatively well preserved, and their substructions give us a better idea of the general plan of Egyptian houses than any others in the valley of the Nile.—ED.

almost to the shore of the Nile, and leaving only narrow outlets towards the east, to the right and left of the eastern chain of mountains.

The high dignity of Chief Prophet in the temple of the Sun-god was bestowed upon a faithful servant of the king, named Meri-ra, which means 'dear to the Sun.' He bore the title of honour of 'chief seer of the disk of the Sun in the temple of the Sun of the city of Khu-aten.' In the presence of the king he was solemnly invested with his high dignity. Pharaoh spoke to him on this occasion the following words:—

'Here am I present to promote thee to be chief seer of the disk of the Sun, in the temple of the Sun of the city of Khu-aten. Be thou such, according to thy wish, for thou wast my servant, who wast obedient to the (new) teaching. Besides thee, none has done this. My heart is full of contentment because of this; therefore I give thee this office, saying, Eat of the nourishment of Pharaoh thy lord in the temple of the Sun.'

Another surprise was in reserve for the high-priest. The king called his treasurer before him, and spoke to him thus:—

'Thou treasurer of the chamber of silver and gold! Reward the chief seer of the disk of the Sun in the city of Khu-aten. Place a golden necklace round his neck and join it behind; place gold at his feet; for he was obedient to the (new) teaching of Pharaoh in everything that has been spoken in relation to these beautiful places, which Pharaoh caused to be erected in the chamber of the obelisk in the temple of the Sun, of the disk of the Sun in the city of Khu-aten. The altar of the disk of the Sun is filled with all good things, with much corn and spelt.'

As the chief official who was set over the king's house, there lived at the court of Pharaoh a certain Aahmes, who also had the superintendence of the

store-houses of the temple. Next to Meri-ra, he was one of the most zealous adherents of the new teaching. His prayer to the Sun, which is preserved to us among the sepulchral inscriptions at Tel-el-Amarna, will confirm this:—

'Beautiful is thy setting, thou Sun's disk of life, thou lord of lords, and king of the worlds. When thou unitest thyself with the heaven at thy setting, mortals rejoice before thy countenance, and give honour to him who has created them, and pray before him who has formed them, before the glance of thy son, who loves thee, the king Khunaten. The whole land of Egypt and all peoples repeat all thy names at thy rising, to magnify thy rising in like manner as thy setting. Thou, O God, who art in truth the living one, standest before the two eyes. Thou art he which createst what never was, which formest everything that is in the universe. We also have come into being through the word of thy mouth.

'Give me favour before the king every day; let there not be wanting to me a good burial after attaining old age in the territory of Khu-aten, when I shall have finished my course of life peaceably.

'I am a servant of the divine benefactor (the king); I accompany him to all places where he loves to stay. I am a companion at his feet. For he raised me to greatness when I was yet a child, till [the day of my] honours in good fortune. The servant of the prince rejoices, and is in a festive disposition every day.'

In these and similar creations of a poetic form there reign such a depth of view and such deep inward devotion towards God, that we are almost inclined to give our complete assent to the teaching, about which the king is wont to discourse so fully and with so much pleasure.

His royal spouse also, Nofer-i-Thi, was deeply penetrated with the exalted doctrines of the new faith, which appeared to contemporaries in the light of an

open heresy against the mysterious traditions as to the essence of the godhead in the rolls of the holy books of the other temples of the land. Thus does the queen address the rising sun :—

'Thou disk of the Sun, thou living god! there is none other beside thee! Thou givest health to the eyes through thy beams, Creator of all beings. Thou goest up on the eastern horizon of heaven, to dispense life to all which thou hast created; to man, four-footed beasts, birds, and all manner of creeping things on the earth, where they live. Thus they behold thee, and they go to sleep when thou settest.

'Grant to thy son, who loves thee, life in truth, to the lord of the land, Khu-n-aten, that he may live united with thee in eternity.

'As for her, his wife, the queen Nofer-i-Thi—may she live for evermore and eternally by his side, well-pleasing to thee: she admires what thou hast created day by day.

'He (the king) rejoices at the sight of thy benefits. Grant him a long existence as king of the land.'

The mother also of the king, the widowed spouse of the deceased Pharaoh Amenhotep III., honoured the city and the temple of the Sun by a visit. Was she then the real originator of the new teaching, which had so completely taken possession of the king, that he did not hesitate to throw down the gauntlet to the proud priestly caste, and even to quit Thebes, in order to found on the plains of Amarna a new dwelling-place for his contemplative existence, far from the bustle of the restless capital?

The widowed queen arrived at Khu-aten with a great retinue. The king, in company with his wife, himself conducted her into the new temple. The inscription explains the picture that remains to us of this scene in the following terms :—'Introduction of the queen-mother Thi to behold her sun-shadow.'

According to the still extant wall-pictures in the sepulchral chambers of the hills behind the town, the Pharaoh Khunaten enjoyed a very happy family life. Surrounded by his daughters and wife, who often, from a high balcony, threw down all kinds of presents to the crowd which stood below, the mother holding on her lap the little Ankh-nes-aten,[4]—he reached a state of the highest enjoyment, and found in the love of his family, and the devout adoration of his god, indemnification for the loss of the attachment of the 'holy fathers' and of a great part of the people. The widowed queen-mother Thi also shared this family happiness, and thus we find her sitting in peaceful intercourse with her son and his wife, in the hall of the royal palace. Her suite used to accompany her, and especially her steward and treasurer, the controller of the women's apartment, Hia.

King Khunaten gave a remarkable expression to his love for his relations in three identical rock-sculptures with inscriptions, which remain on the steep cliff near the city of Khu-aten, but are barely within reach of the eye. The king and queen are seen in the upper compartment, raising their hands in an attitude of prayer to the god of light, whose disk hovers over their heads in the full splendour of his beams, each ray of the sun terminating in a hand dispensing life. Two daughters, Meri-aten and Mak-aten, accompany their royal parents. The date of the 6th year, in the month Pharmuthi, the 13th day, gives to the whole a fixed historical epoch.

[4] This is the scene referred to above, p. 488, note.—ED.

Underneath are the following words—omitting the long titles of honour of the king or the queen :—

'On this day was the king in Khu-aten, in a tent of byssus. And the king—life, prosperity, and health to him!—changed Khu-aten, which was its name, into Pa-aten-haru (that is, "the city of the delight of the Sun's disk"). And the king appeared riding on the golden court-chariot, like the disk of the Sun, when it rises and sheds over the land its pleasant gifts, and he took the road that ends in Khu-aten, from the first time when the king had discovered it, to found it (the city) as a memorial to the disk of the Sun, according as the sun-god king, who dispenses life eternally and for ever, had signified to him to found a memorial within it.

'A proper and complete sacrifice was offered on that day in the [temple of the sun] at Khu-aten, to the Sun's disk of the living god, who received the thanks of the love of his royal counterpart, the Pharaoh Khunaten. Thereupon the king went up the river, and went up in his chariot before his father, the sun-god king, towards the mountain to the south-east of the city of Khu-aten.

'The beams of the Sun's disk shone over him in a pure life, so as to make his body young every day.

'Thereupon king Khunaten swore an oath by his father thus: Sweet love fills my heart for the queen, for her young children. Grant a great age to the queen Nofri-Thi in long years; may she keep the hand of Pharaoh! Grant a great age to the royal daughter Meri-aten, and to the royal daughter Mak-aten, and to their children; may they keep the hand of the queen, their mother, eternally and for ever!

'What I swear is a true avowal of that which my heart says to me. Never is there falsehood in what I say.

'With regard to the southern memorial tablet, [of the] four [memorial tablets] on the east of the city of Khu-aten, let this be the memorial tablet which I will have set up in the place which I have chosen for it in the south, for ever and eternally.

'This memorial tablet shall be set up in the south-west, towards the middle, on the mountain of Khu-aten, in the midst of it.

'With regard to the memorial tablet in the middle, on the mountain to the east of the city of Khu-aten, let this be the memorial tablet for Khu-aten. This I will have set up in its

place [which I have appointed for it in sight of] the city of Khu-aten, at the place which I have appointed for it in the east, for ever and eternally.

'This memorial tablet in the middle, on the mountain to the east of the city of Khu-aten, let it be in the midst of it.

'With regard to the memorial tablet to the north-east of Khu-aten, I will have it set up in its place. Let that be the memorial tablet on the north of Khu-aten. Let this be the place which I have appointed for it.

'[In such wise shall the memorial tablets be set up, according to their directions] towards Khu-aten. From the memorial tablet in the south to the memorial tablet in the north [the distance amounts to] 1,000 [. . . . . .'

The following lines are so much destroyed, that little more can be made out of them beyond the fact, that the king also set up a similar memorial tablet to the west of Khu-aten, that is, on the opposite bank of the river.

There is some difficulty about the conclusion, for a postscript, added not quite two years afterwards, relates as follows with respect to the tablets:—

'This memorial tablet, which was placed in the middle, had fallen down. I will have it set up afresh, and placed again at the place at which it was [before]: this I swear. In the 8th year, in the month Tybi, on the 9th day, the king was in Khu-aten, and Pharaoh mounted his court-chariot of polished copper, to behold the memorial tablets of the Sun's disk, which are on the hills in the territory to the south-east of Khu-aten.'

The memorial stones, about which the king speaks after his avowal of affection for his wife and daughters, still in fact remain to this day as three rock-tablets bearing the same inscription; and they were first found and published by the French archæologist, Prisse d'Avennes.[5] Two of them stand in a valley

[5] See his *Monuments*, Plates XIII. and foll.

covered with blocks of stone and *débris*, in a south-easterly direction from Tel-el-Amarna, towards Haggi Qandil, high up on the wall of rock, at a height of 9 mètres (nearly 30 feet). The third rock-tablet, on the other hand, is on the opposite side of the river. At Gebel Touneh, on the smooth face of the Libyan mountain, the same picture and the same inscription as at the above-named places present themselves to the eye of the traveller.

In his eighth year, according to the information at the conclusion of the long inscription, the king visited the solitary mountain district again, to convince himself that his orders had been obeyed. The memorial tablets had, soon after their erection, 'tumbled down,' that is, had been destroyed purposely by disaffected Egyptians, so that the king found himself obliged to order their re-erection.

He went thither on his chariot, as was his custom. The sepulchral chambers of Tel-el-Amarna, which received the deceased generations of the strange court of the heretical king (seldom visited by travellers, since they lie inland and far from the Nile), show us repeatedly in their pictures the king making his journey on his chariot in the bright sunshine, accompanied by his daughters, who likewise, according to the fashion of the times, used two-horsed and two-wheeled chariots.

In the twelfth year of his reign, precisely on the 18th day of the month Mekhir, king Khunaten celebrated the victories of his army over the Syrians and Kushites. He could hardly have taken a personal

part in these, but his appearance at the festival of victory was none the less brilliant. In full Pharaonic attire, adorned with the insignia of his rank, he appears on his lion-throne, carried on the shoulders of his warriors. At his side run servants, who with their long fans wave the cool air upon their heated lord.

We know nothing more precise either as to the direction or the duration of the campaigns in the North and South thus announced in general terms. Only the pictures and inscriptions of the king on the propyla of the Temple of Amon at Soleb lead us to suppose that the warriors of Khunaten must have gone thus far on their campaign against the South. There is also a remarkable monument in the Egyptian collection at Leyden, on which Horemhib (who was afterwards king), in his character as the first official of his then reigning lord, causes the prisoners of all nations to be brought before his lord by the servants of the king. Stupid negroes, sly Syrians, and small-featured Marmarides (whose women lead horses by the bridles as presents), form the chief members of the motley, cringing, submissive assemblage of foreigners before the king's throne.

The king, as we have seen, died without male issue. Of his daughters, the eldest had married a certain Sa'anekht; the third, Ankh-nes-pa-aten, or, as she was obliged to call herself later in honour of Amon, Ankh-nes-Amon, was married to the noble lord Tut'ankh-Amon; while the sister of the queen Nofer-i-Thi, whose name was Notem-mut, became the spouse of the later king, Horemhib.

In the sequel, the husbands of all these princesses of the house of Khunaten attained to the dignity of kings. Among the first was Tut-'ankh-Amon, as whose viceroys in the south appear the same Hi and Amenhotep, who had already held that office under Amenhotep III. It is only under king Ai that we find a new governor, of the same name, Ai, whose son Amenape afterwards, under Seti I., takes the place of his father.

The succession of the kings, to whose combined reigns there was allotted a very short time, scarcely the length of a single generation, is as follows :—Sa'a-nekht, Tut-'ankh-Amon, Ai, Horemhib.[6]

(X.) SA'A-NEKHT,

the husband of the princess Mer-aten, disappeared quickly from the stage of history. His successor,

(XI.) TUT-'ANKH-AMON,

'the living image of Amon,' the royal husband of the third daughter of Khunaten, 'Ankh-nes-Amon, has, on the contrary, had his memory preserved by one of the most remarkable representations in the sepulchral chamber of a Theban contemporary.[7]

This shows us the king on his throne, holding a public court, in presence of his two governors of the

[6] Neither Amenhotep IV., nor the three kings whose short reigns came between him and Horemhib, are recognized in the Table of Abydus or the other official lists. We number them (in brackets) only as a matter of convenience.—ED.

[7] The tomb of Qurnat Murray (or Kournet Murraee) on the western side of Thebes. Compare *Denkmäler*, iii. 115.

South, Hi and Amenhotep. The richly laden ships, which contain the tributes and presents of the negro peoples, have come to land at the soil of Thebes. A negro queen herself has not felt ashamed to appear in person on this conspicuous scene. She is introduced on a chariot drawn by oxen,[8] surrounded by her servants, who, as the queen of Sheba long afterwards brought presents to the wise Solomon, lay the rich gifts and presents of their dusky mistress at the feet of Pharaoh, naturally to his great delight and that of all his court.

As if to heighten their joy, the ruddy princes of the land of Ruthen appear at the same time from the distant north, in rich variegated dresses, with their black hair elegantly curled, to offer to the king the costly and beautiful works of their country as an expression of their peaceful disposition and respect.

A large and lively picture of the manners and the riches of the South and of the North in the fifteenth century before Christ is here displayed before our eyes. The Egyptians of the time have added to it as a superscription the words:—

'Arrival of the tributes for the lord of the land, which the miserable Ruthen offer under the leadership of the (Egyptian) royal ambassador to all countries, the king's son of Kush, and governor of the South, Amenhotep.'

Above the princes of Ruthen are the significant words:—

[8] She has an umbrella over her, on a sort of column, though it *appears* as if supported *on the top of her head*. (See the engraving in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 235, 2nd ed.)—ED.

'These kings of the land of Upper Ruthen knew nothing of Egypt since the time of the divine one. They beg for peace from the king, speaking thus: "Grant us freedom out of thy hand. Indescribable are thy victories, and no enemy appears in thy time. All lands rest in peace."'

Above the costly gifts of the princes (among them horses), brought by red-bearded servants, of a light colour and an almost dwarf-like build, is the following explanatory inscription:—

'This is the best selection of all sorts of vessels of their land, in silver, gold, blue-stone, green-stone, and all kinds of jewels.'

Of the tributes and presents of the negroes, on the other hand, it is said:—

'This is the arrival of the splendid Ethiopian tributes, the best selection of the productions of the lands of the South, and their landing in Thebes under the conduct of the king's son of Kush, Hiu.'

The Northern presents, valuable in themselves from their peculiar materials, gain a still higher interest from the artistic character of their treatment as to form and ornament, which often reminds us of the hand of the Greek artist. They exhibit in a picture what the great tablet of victory of Thutmes III. repeatedly describes in words. Under the guidance of the richly endowed Phœnicians, the Khalu or Kharu, who, besides their commerce, had so remarkable a genius for handicrafts and for art, there had sprung up, along the eastern coast of the 'inner sea,' a school of high culture, which not only had the skill to make what was necessary and useful, but also to create beauty in pleasing forms. In the course of trade, the artistic productions of Phœnicia found an

entrance and a sale in all parts of the then known world, and served as patterns, the value of which was willingly acknowledged, especially by the enlightened people of Egypt. The exhibition of the Phœnician works of art before the eyes of the astonished Pharaoh remains therefore for all times a precious contribution to the history of the oldest Phœnician school of art.

If, on the other hand, we may be allowed the same right to pass a judgment on the condition of culture and of handicraft in the lands of the negroes in the fifteenth century B.C., from the coloured representations in these sepulchral chambers, for a knowledge of which science is indebted to the Prussian expedition to Egypt under Lepsius,—here also (in spite of a peculiar direction of taste, which is seen, among other things, in furnishing the tips of the horns of the oxen with ornaments like the hands of men) a certain artistic spirit manifests itself in the construction and execution of the exterior forms of the objects. Passing over the costly golden vessels set with precious stones, the manifold utensils of domestic life, the chariots, ships, weapons, and all the articles which the queen brings to Thebes, exhibit an unmistakable development of artistic power, which must without doubt be ascribed on the one hand to Egyptian influence, and on the other to the natural talent of these so-called savage tribes, and to their imitative instinct. Even at this day, the prejudice that the negro is, both in taste and in art, an unprogressive son of Adam, can be refuted by hundreds of facts which prove the direct contrary in an incontrovertible

manner, in favour of our coloured brethren. As representative of Modern Egypt at the two international exhibitions, at Vienna in 1873, and at Philadelphia in 1876, I had the welcome opportunity of exhibiting the most wonderful works in gold and silver, as examples of the finished artistic skill of the peoples of the Soudan, and of receiving prizes for the black artists.

Tut-'ankh-Amon, whose very name serves as a proof that he had thrown aside the new teaching of his royal father-in-law about the one living Sun's disk, reigned in Thebes with the consent of the corporation of the priests of Amon. By a brilliant external pomp, he seems to have obtained the power and commanded the respect, which were denied him on account of his birth and marriage. Yet in spite of this he remained an illegitimate ruler, to whom, in the eyes of the priests of Amon, the full Pharaonic blood was wanting. Neither did his reign last long.

The throne became vacant; the female line of king Khunaten, the heretic, had left no descendants; and so by stratagem or by force the fallen reins of the chariot of the empire were seized by Khunaten's former master of the horse,

(XII.) 'THE HOLY FATHER' AI.

King Khun-aten had been suckled by a nurse who, like the queen-mother, bore the name of Thi. She was married to one of the lords of the court, a 'holy father' of the highest grade, by name Ai. This connection with the king's own nurse led as a natural consequence to Ai's mounting continually up the

ladder of dignities, until he at last held the highest offices. He was named 'fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, and superintendent of the whole stud of Pharaoh.' Besides, he seems to have occupied himself with the science of law, since he was also promoted to be 'the royal scribe of justice.' Many presents did the generosity of the king bestow on the ennobled pair. 'The high nurse, the nourishing mother of the divine one, the dresser of the king,' must of course have stood in peculiar favour. The riches of her house increased visibly, so that the inhabitants of the town were in the habit of gossipping much about it.[9] Their conversations have been faithfully handed down to us, and betoken the general astonishment of the talkative crowd.

Ai, however, appears to have been an excellent king for the country, and at the same time to have returned to the ancient ways prescribed for the kings by the priests of Amon, for he calls himself 'a prince of Thebes,' and shows no remembrance of the new teaching of his deceased king. On the contrary, he sacrifices to Amon and his associated gods according to the old traditional custom, and he honours the god, that is, the priests of the god, in a marked manner. The holy fathers appear clearly to have been supported by their former colleague on the throne, so that they allowed him to prepare for himself a tomb in the Biban-el-Molouk, the narrow valley of the dead, containing the kings' tombs, in the Libyan mountain chain to the west of Thebes. His tomb,

[9] Compare *Denkmäler*, iii. 105 a.

and his granite sarcophagus within it, have been preserved to the present day.[1]

Ai, on whom the official documents confer the titles of 'conqueror of the Asiatics,' and of a king 'distinguished for power,' must in fact have carried on wars in the North, and have won great successes for Egypt. His acknowledged supremacy in the South is vouched for by the presence of his 'king's son of Kush and governor, Paur,' whose memory has been faithfully preserved beside that of the king, in the Nubian rock-grottoes of Shetaui.[2] He is the father of that governor in the South, Amenemape, who, under king Seti I., exercised the same office in Nubia. This family connection, which is of great importance as bearing on the succession of the generations, gives ground for the supposition that the following kings, Horemhib, Ramses, and his son Seti I., were contemporaries, and consequently each possessed the throne for a comparatively short period. This supposition is strengthened by the probability that the sister-in-law of king Khunaten, Notem-mut,[3] was no other than the princess who was afterwards the wife of king Horemhib.

[1] The tomb, in a secluded valley, or ravine, to the west of the tombs of the Ramses family, was lately visited by Mr. Villiers Stuart, who describes the rose-coloured sarcophagus as covered with hieroglyphics entirely defaced, except one cartouche, which contains the king's name in its full form, KAFER-KAFERU-RA-AR-MA-NUTER-AAI-NUTER-HIC-UAS. He calls himself *prince*, not *king*. (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 254.)—ED.

[2] Compare *Denkmäler*, iii. 110, c—h.

[3] Without doubt the name of this queen must be read thus, instead of 'Bent-mut,' as Lepsius gives it in his *Königsbuch*, No. 397.

XIII. SER-KHEPRU-RA MI-AMON HOR-EM-HIB; THE KING HORUS OF MANETHO.

Who was to be king? That was the great question after the funeral of the master of the horse.

People remembered that in Middle Egypt there still lived a man of good repute, whom, in all probability, Amenhotep III. had known and honoured with his confidence. His right to the throne of Pharaoh had but a slight foundation, since it rested only on his marriage with the sister of queen Nofri-Thi, the high lady Notem-mut, who has been already mentioned. But another helper stood by this true servant of his lord, and this was the god Horus, under whose protection the future heir to the throne lived in quiet retirement, and mindful of past times, at the town of Ha-suten, that is, 'the house of the king.'

This place stood on the right side of the river, and formed the capital of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt, on the southern boundary of which lay the territory of the Cynopolitan nome, with its capital Kasa (Cynopolis): on the north it bordered on the nineteenth nome, with its capital Pinaza, the Oxyrhynchus of the ancients. Both districts were on the west side of the river, nearly opposite to the nome of Hasuten, or 'the royal city.' The monuments give a second name to the city, under the designation of Ha-benu, 'The Phœnix city;' it is the Hipponon of the Greek travellers in Egypt, the Alabastrônpolis (alabaster-city) of the geographer Ptolemy.

All the proofs which I have diligently collected, with regard to the position of this place, lead to the conclusion that it must be sought in the neighbourhood of the city of Khu-aten, behind which rich alabaster quarries lie open in the mountains, if it be not the city of Khu-aten itself.

The future heir to the throne bore the name of Horemhib. As to how he obtained his royal dignity, we will allow his own monument in Turin to speak for itself.[4]

Respecting the elevation of Horemhib to be king on the throne of Pharaoh we possess a very remarkable document in a long inscription of twenty-six lines, handing down to posterity information, which is in many respects full of importance, concerning his past history before his accession to the throne.

The document begins, like others of the same kind, with a description of the youth of the future king.

[4] So far as I know, I here give for the first time the full translation of this important document. [The inscription has been since translated by Dr. Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 29, foll. The inscription is on the back of a group of two sitting statues in black granite, originally nearly nine feet high. One of the figures is king Horemhib, seated on his throne; the other, a female figure, 'is evidently' (says Dr. Birch) 'a queen, for it wears on the head the vulture attire, emblem of a queen-mother, and above a cylindrical head-dress or modius of *uræi*, and above that were formerly the two plumes of the goddess Athor, a common characteristic of goddesses and royal persons.' This head-dress, so like that of queen Thi, seems to point to a queen in her own right.—Ed.]

'While he was yet carried as a suckling in arms, both old and young touched the ground before him.'[5]

His tutelar god, Hor of Ha-suten, had chosen him for great things.

'He knew the day of his good fortune, to grant to him his kingdom, for this god made his son great in the sight of mortals, and he willed to prolong his career till the arrival of the day on which he should receive his office (as king).'

Horemhib was presented to the then living Pharaoh.

'And he enraptured the heart of the king, who was contented because of his qualities, and rejoiced on account of his choice. And he named him as Ro-hir (guardian) of the country, until he should attain to the title of a son as crown-prince of this land, as it is and remains, he alone without a rival.'

In this office, which was accorded to him as guardian or epitropos of the land, Horemhib fulfilled the duties of his calling as councillor to the king to his entire satisfaction.

'For (he contented the) inhabitants of Egypt by the judgments of his mouth. And he was called to the royal court, so that he was far from anxiety. He opened his mouth and gave answer to the king, and consoled him by the utterances of his mouth. So that he was the sole benefactor, like none [other beside him].' In such a way did he show himself, 'who took pleasure in justice alone, which he carried in his heart,' standing in the same grade with the gods Thut and Ptah. 'In all his deeds and ways he fol-

[5] Among the beautiful sculptures set up by Horemhib in the grottoes of the disused quarries on the western side of Silsilis (Gebel Silsileh), is one representing him, rather as a boy than an infant, wearing the *uræus* on his forehead, suckled by a queen or goddess, with the inscription, 'Beloved of his mother, *the divine lady-chief*; master of the two lands; lord of the crowns (of the two kingdoms), Ser Kaperu-ra Sotep-en-ra Hor-an-em-heb Mer-Amun.' (Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, Plate XVII. p. 210.)—ED.

lowed their path, and they were his shield and his protection on earth to all eternity.'

A new elevation awaited him. Like Joseph formerly at the court of Pharaoh, so he also was named the Adon of the land.

'When he had now been raised to be Adon during the space of many years,' in consequence of his fortunate administration, every kind of distinction was showered upon him. 'The distinguished men at the court bowed themselves before him outside the door of the palace. And when the kings of the nine foreign nations of the South and of the North came before him, they stretched out their hands at his approach, and praised his soul, as if he had been God. Then all was done that was appointed to be done, under the orders which he [gave].' Thus 'his authority was greater than that of the king in the sight of mortals, and all wished him prosperity and health. He punished the guilty (?), and bestowed prosperity on men.'[6]

We are now approaching great events in the life of the destined king, for,

'After this the eldest son of Hor was raised from the dignity of a guardian to be the crown-prince of the land, as it is established. Then had this glorious god, Hor of Alabastrônpolis, the desire in his heart to place his son upon his throne for evermore. And [this glorious god] Amon gave command that they should conduct the god Hor, with a joyful mind, to Thebes, the eternal city, and his son on his breast, to Ape; to bring him in with festivity before Amon, to deliver to him his royal office, and to establish it for the term of his life. Then [they arrived full of joy] during his splendid festival in Ape of the South country; and they beheld this god Hor, the lord of Alabastrônpolis, in company with his son, in the coronation procession, that he might bestow upon him his office and his throne. Then was Amon-Ra moved with joy. And he beheld [the king's daughter . . . and wished to unite her] to him. And behold! he brought her to this prince, the crown-

[6] The striking parallel which this narrative supplies to the elevation of Joseph has been already pointed out (p. 312).—ED.

prince Horemhib. And he went into the palace, and he placed him before himself on the exalted place (of the throne) of his glorious distinguished daughter. (And she) bowed herself, and embraced his pleasing form, and placed herself before him. And all the divinities of the chamber of fire were full of ecstasy at his coronation: Nekheb, Buto, Neith, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Seth, the whole circle of the gods on the exalted place, [raised their] song of praise to the height of heaven, and there was joy because of the grace of Amon. After this there was an interval of rest. Then went Amon, with his son before him, to the hall of kings, to set his royal helmet[7] on his head, and to lengthen his term of life, as it should in fact be. (Then the gods cried out), "We are assembled; we will to invest him with his kingdom; we will to bestow upon him the royal attire of the sun-god Ra; we will to praise Amon in him. Thou hast brought him to us, to protect us. Give him the thirty years' festivals of the sun-god Ra, and the days of Hor as king. Let him be one, who does that which is pleasing to thy heart in Ape, just as in On (Heliopolis), and in Memphis: let it be he who glorifies these places." And the great name of this divine one was settled, and his title recorded, corresponding to the Holiness of the Sun-god, as follows:—

'"1. As Hor, the powerful bull, always at hand with counsel;

2. As lord of the double crown, great from his wonderful works in Ape:

3. As Golden-Hor, who rests himself on justice, the upholder of the land:

4. As King Ser-khepru-ra, who is elected by the Sun-god:

5. As the Son of Ra, Miamun Horemhib.

May he live for ever!"

'Then came forth from the palace the Holiness of this glorious god Amon, the king of the gods, with his son before him, and he embraced his pleasing form, which was crowned with the royal helmet, in order to deliver to him the golden protecting image of the sun's disk. The nine foreign nations were under his feet, the heaven was in a most festive disposition, the land was filled with ecstasy, and as for the divinities of Egypt, their souls were full of pleasant feelings. Then the inhabitants, in high delight, raised

[7] The *pshent* or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.

towards heaven the song of praise; great and small lifted up their voices, and the whole land was moved with joy.

'After this festival in Ape of the southern country was finished, then Amon, the king of the gods, went in peace to Thebes, and the king went down the river on board of his ship, like an image of Hormakhu. Thus had he taken possession of this land, as was the custom since the time of the sun-god Ra. He renewed the dwellings of the gods, from the shallows of the marsh-land of Nathu as far as Nubia. He had all their images sculptured, each as it had been before, more than . . . And the sun-god Ra rejoiced, when he beheld [that renewed which] had been destroyed in former times. He set them up in their temple, and he had a hundred images made, one of each of them, of like form, and of all kinds of costly stones. He visited the cities of the gods, which lay as heaps of rubbish in this land, and he had them restored just as they had been from the beginning of all things. He took care for their daily festival of sacrifice, and for all the vessels of their temples, formed out of gold and silver. He provided them (the temples) with holy persons and singers, and with the best body-guards; and he presented to them arable land and cattle, and supplied them with all kinds of provisions which they required, to sing thus each new morning to the sun-god Ra: "Thou hast made the kingdom great for us in thy son, who is the consolation of thy soul, king Horemhib. Grant him the continuance of the thirty years' feasts, give him the victory over all countries, as to Hor, the son of Isis, towards whom in like manner thy heart yearned in On, in the company of thy circle of gods."'

This document, the age of which is not less than thirty-three centuries, needs from us no elucidation. It would only weaken the impression of these noble words, if we permitted ourselves to encumber with explanation the facts they impart to us.

What, however, we must call attention to, is the complete silence with which the late king Ai is passed over. The passage is also obscure, in which mention is made of 'the daughter'—in all probability his heiress-daughter—who had taken refuge in the temple

of Amon. We suppose that it was Notem-Mut, afterwards the king's wife, whose dependence on the godhead of Amon the priests wished to reward by a marriage with Horemhib.

After the newly elected king had ascended the vacant throne with a grand ceremonial at Thebes, where, as the inscription informs us, he was crowned, according to prescription and usage, in the temple of the empire at Ape, his first work consisted in the enlargement and beautifying of this temple.

To this end, the works of the heretic king, Khunaten, who had devised the plan of raising to his one god, Aten, in the city of Amon, a gigantic obelisk, called a Ben-Ben, crowned with the globe of the Sun, were first destroyed, and the blocks of stone, which still in part bore their inscriptions, were broken up and used for the building of the fourth gate-tower, on the south side of the great temple of Amon in Ape.

A second gate-tower was added, both being connected by walls with a large court; and in front of the outermost gate an avenue of sphinxes was set up in honour of Amon, in the name of Horemhib. Thus the god could with full justice address the king in the words of the inscription at the first (the southernmost) pylon.

'Thus speaks Amon-Ra, the king of the gods: Splendid is the monument which thou hast erected for me, O Hor, thou wise king; my heart rejoices in thy love. I am enchanted with the sight of thy memorial. Therefore we grant thee a life as long as the sun, and the years of Hor as king of the land.'

The entrances to this gate were also adorned with statues of the king. The eastern side wall also re-

ceived a series of sculptures, which were intended to call to remembrance the supremacy of the king over the land of Pun or Punt. The princes of this land appear before the king, to whom they present a number of heavy sacks filled with gold; and the words are added :—

'Hail to thee, king of Egypt, sun of the nine foreign nations! By thy name! we did not know Egypt. Our fathers never trod it. Present us with freedom out of thy hand. We will be thy subjects.'

In fact, Horemhib seems to have directed his special attention to the South, and to have undertaken an expedition against the Soudan in person. An inscription in his rock-grotto at Silsilis, on the left bank of the river, certifies to us this campaign and the victories which he won.

I cannot better describe the bas-reliefs which have reference to these events than in the words of Champollion, who first explained to a curious world their real meaning.

'The Pharaoh'—says the founder of the science of Egyptian archæology—'is represented standing, as, with his battle-axe on his shoulder, he receives from Amon-Ra the emblem of divine life, and power to subdue the North and to conquer the South. Beneath lie Ethiopians, some prostrate on the ground, others stretching forth their hands in prayer to an Egyptian leader, who, according to the inscription, upbraids them with having shut their hearts to wisdom, and with refusing to hear when it was said to them, "Behold the lion who has fallen upon the land of Kush."'

The victorious king is carried on a throne by his generals, accompanied by the fan-bearers. Servants clear the road by which the procession is to pass; behind Pharaoh appear warriors, who lead with them hostile generals as prisoners; other armed men, with shields on their shoulders, put themselves in motion, with the trumpeters at their head. A troop of Egyptian officers, priests, and other officials, receive the king, and do homage to him.[8]

The legend in hieroglyphs explains this scene as follows :—

'The divine benefactor returns home after he has subdued the princes of all countries. His bow is in his hand, as if he were the (god of war Monthu) the lord of Thebes. The powerful glorious king leads the princes of the miserable land of Kush with him. The king comes back from Ethiopia with the booty which he has taken by force, as his father Amon had commanded him.'

The song of the poor captive negroes has already been laid before our readers at page 335.

In the tomb of a distinguished official of the time (at Qurnah), we see a vivid representation of the arrival of the booty from the Soudan. The inscription above it says, in short and pithy terms :—

'Reception of the silver, gold, ivory, and ebony into the treasure-house.'

But Horemhib was not only mindful of the god Amon and his family of gods of Thebes, in his build-

[8] The part of this scene showing the king borne in procession is engraved by Mr. Villiers Stuart (*Nile Gleanings*, Plate XVIII. p. 208). It again calls to mind the proclamation of Joseph as Adon; while the lions at the arms of the chair of state recal those beside the throne of Solomon (1 Kings x. 19).—ED.

ings and in presents to the temples: the Memphian Ptah also received his full share of the benefactions of the king. An inscription found in Thebes tells us this as follows:[9]—

'In the first year, in the month Khoiakh, on the 22nd day, of king Horemhib, the day of the feast of the Memphian Ptah in Thebes, on his festival, [the sacrifices] were appointed [for this god according to the command of the king].'

That Horemhib knew how to reward his followers, is testified by the picture and inscription on the grave of his faithful servant, the priest Noferhotep, in the necropolis of Thebes. When and how this took place, the words of the inscription tell us as follows:—

'In the third year, under the reign of the king of Egypt, Horemhib, his Holiness showed himself comparable to the sun-god Ra, in his own sepulchre, for the purpose of making an offering of bread to his father Amon. As he came out from the Golden Chamber, cries of joy sounded through the whole region, and the shout rose up heavenward. Then was the holy father of Amon, Noferhotep, summoned to receive the king's thousandfold gracious rewards in all manner of presents, consisting of silver and gold, stuffs, fine oils, bread and drinks, flesh and condiments. According to the command of my (or his) lord Amon, the rewards were presented to me (or him) in the most exalted presence by the chief singer of Amon, Hotep-ab.

'Noferhotep speaks thus: "One rich (in —) makes acknowledgment by presents. So is the god, the king of the gods, who acknowledges him that acknowledges Him, and rewards him that works for Him, and protects him that serves Him.[1]

[9] The inscription is given in Mariette's *Karnak*, Plate 47, d.

[1] I first published the inscription now quoted in my *Recueil de Monum. Egypt.*, tome i. pl. 37. The translation of the inscription given by M. Pierret in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Egypt. et Assyr.*, tome ii. p. 196, seems to me to need correction in several passages.

What further might be related of Horemhib is known only to the perished and destroyed monuments of his time, or to those which have escaped my attention down to the insignificant pieces of limestone and potsherds, bearing inscriptions.

Among these latter we must reckon a very remarkable fragment in the British collections,[2] on which the following statements have been written in black colour by an unknown hand in relation to the times of king Horemhib :—

'In the 7th year of king Horemhib, that was the day of the conveying of the people of Hai my father to the abodes of the dead. The burgomaster of the city (that is Thebes), Thutmesu, had assigned the burial-places, which are situated at the necropolis which belongs to the territory of Pharaoh ; and he granted the tomb of Amon to Hai my father for appropriation. It was, namely, Qa-an . . . . my mother, his daughter by birth, and he left behind no male child. All his burial-places would therefore have remained deserted afterwards.

'In the 21st year, on the first day of the month Paoni, they stood before Amenhotep, (and I) spake to him : "Grant, I pray thee, to each one the burial-places of their fathers!" Then he gave me the burial-places of Hai by a writing, and so I came into their full possession.'

However insignificant this formless piece of limestone may be, still it appears valuable on account of its historical testimony, that Horemhib lived to see the twenty-first year of his reign. For that this date, and the name Amenhotep, which follows, do not relate to the reign of a king Amenhotep, as Dr. Birch assumes, is evident from the whole context of the document. The inscription simply bears witness to

[2] See 'Egyptian Inscriptions in the British Museum,' No. 5624.

the good right of the unknown author, the son of Hai, and grandson of Thutmesu, the burgomaster of Thebes, to a particular burial-place, as introducing his petition for its preservation against some later disturbance of his possession.

We have here a fresh example before our eyes, how even old stones and potsherds, with inscriptions which relate to the business of ordinary life, may by their incidental notices have a very special value for historical research.[3]

With this remark we will close our observations on the Pharaoh Horemhib and his time, and turn to a new dynasty in the records of the Egyptian empire.

[3] A striking example of this may be added from the recent settlement of the long-disputed question as to the succession and dates of the kings from Nebuchadnezzar to Cyrus by the help of the clay books of a firm of bankers at Babylon.—ED.

TABLE OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CALENDAR,

IN ITS NORMAL FORM, COMPARED WITH THE JULIAN YEAR.

Sacred Sothic Year			Alexandrian Year		Julian Year		Ancient Egyptian Seasons
Days	Day	Month	Day	Month	Day	Month	
1	1	Thoth (I)	26	Epiphi	20	July	
6	6	,,	1	Mesori (XII)	25	,,	
31	1	Phaophi (II)	26	,,	19	August	
36	6	,,	1		24		
—	—		—	Intercalary Days	—	,,	I.
40	10		5		28		The Inundation
41	11	,,	1	Thoth (I)	29	,,	
61	1	Athyr (III)	21	,,	18	September	
71	11	,,	1	Phaophi (II)	28	,,	
91	1	Khoiakh (IV)	21	,,	18	October	
101	11	,,	1	Athyr (III)	28	,,	
121	1	Tybi (V)	21	,,	17	November	
131	11	,,	1	Khoiakh (IV)	27	,,	
151	1	Mekhir (VI)	21	,,	17	December	
161	11	,,	1	Tybi (V)	27	,,	II.
181	1	Phamenoth (VII)	21	,,	16	January	Winter
191	11	,,	1	Mechir (VI)	26	,,	
211	1	Pharmuthi (VIII)	21	,,	15	February	
221	11	,,	1	Phamenoth (VII)	25	,,	
241	1	Pakhons (IX)	21	,,	17	March	
251	11	,,	1	Pharmuthi (VIII)	27	,,	
271	1	Panoi (X)	21	,,	16	April	
281	11	(Payni)	1	Pakhons (IX)	26	,,	
301	1	Epiphi (XI)	21	,,	16	May	III.
311	11	,,	1	Payni (X)	26	,,	Summer
331	1	Mesori (XII)	21	,,	15	June	
341	11	,,	1	Epiphi (XI)	25	,,	
361	1		21	,,	15		
—	—	Intercalary Days	—		—	July	
365	5		25		19		

NOTE.

For a full account of the Ancient Egyptian Calendar see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 368, foll., 2nd ed. by Dr. Birch.—ED.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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